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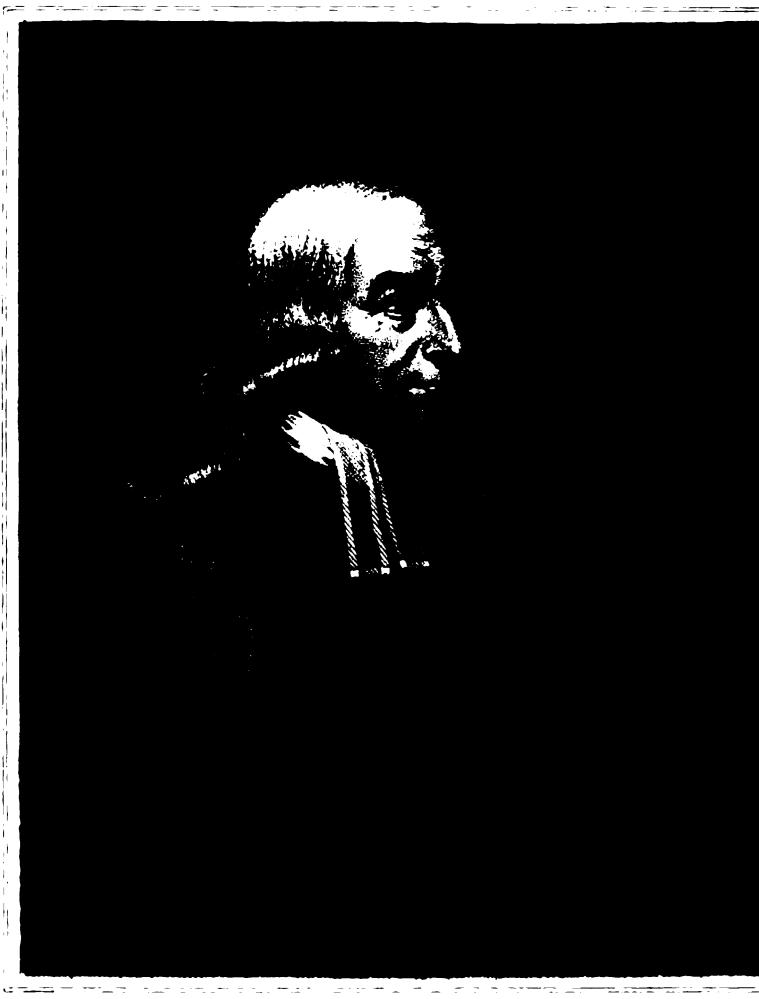

Memoirs of the Wesley Family

Adam Clarke

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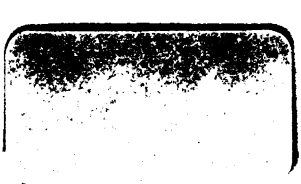

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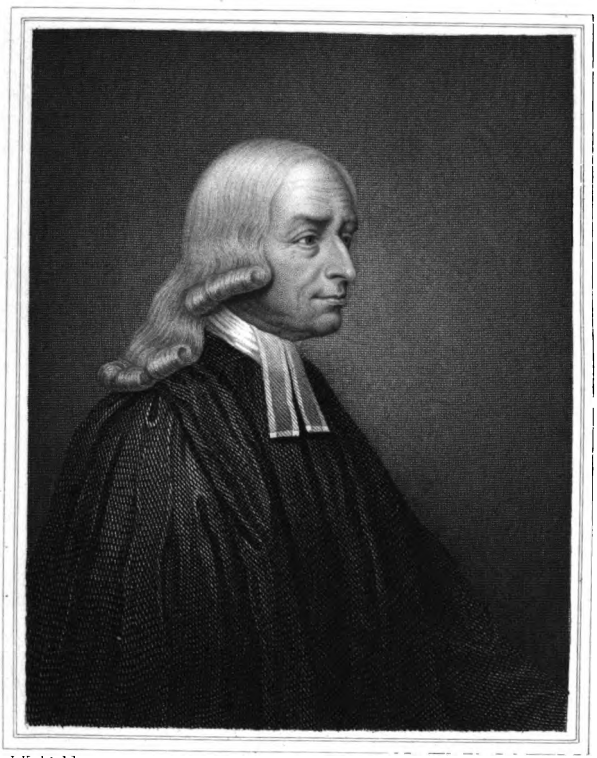

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Revd. John Wesley. A. M.

London. Published by Thos. Vega & Son, Cheapside 1830.

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THE

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.A.S.

VOL. I.

MEMOIRS OF THE WESLEY FAMILY.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

WESLEY FAMILY;

COLLECTED PRINCIPALLY

FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.A.S.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED, CORRECTED, AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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INTRODUCTION.

During the time in which men, eminent for their literary, diplomatic, or military talents flourish, the Public is rarely led to examine by what slow gradations their powers became matured; or what evidence their infancy and youth afforded of that high celebrity which they afterwards attained.

The great utility of their literary labours, or the splendour of their public services, occupies and dazzles the mind, so that all minor considerations become absorbed; and it is only when the public is deprived by death of such illustrious characters, that posterity feel disposed to trace them up to their earliest period; and inquire by what means these luminaries, so small at their rising, attained to such a meridian, of usefulness and glory, and appeared so broad and resplendent at their setting.

This is equally the case both with states and men: hence the historian as well as the biographer, influenced by the maxim,—Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas, endeavours to investigate those philosophic and intellectual principles which gave birth and being to such physical, political and mental energies.

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That *Divine Providence,* which arranges and conducts the whole, and under whose especial guidance and control the course of the present state is ordered, so that all operations in the natural, civil, and moral world issue in manifesting the glory, justice, and mercy of the Supreme Being, lies farther out of the view of men, and by most is little regarded: hence a multitude of events appear to have either no intelligent cause, or none adequate to their production; and because the operations of the divine hand are not regarded, historians and biographers often disquiet themselves in vain to find out the causes and reasons of the circumstances and transactions which they record.

In the dispensations of mercy to the world, and the effects produced by them, the principles from which all originated, the agencies employed, and the mode of working, are still more difficult of apprehension, particularly to those minds which regard earthly things, and see nothing in the natural and moral world but general laws, of which they do not appear to have any very distinct view; and which never can account for the endlessly varied occurrences in a single human life, much less in a state, and still less in the government of the church. By the government of the church, I mean the continuation of that energetic and supernatural principle by which pure and undefiled religion, consisting in piety to God and benevolence to man, is maintained in the earth. There has been an unhappy propensity in all times to deny the existence of this principle, and its operations on the minds and hearts of men; and this has been the fruitful source both of irreligion and false doctrine: and hence the church of God often feels the necessity of contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.

The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. This has a greater extension of meaning than is generally allowed: it does not merely apply to the denial of the

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existence of one Supreme Being, but also to his influences and operations, even where his being is allowed. When moral effects, the purest, the most distinguished, and the most beneficial to society, are attributed to natural causes, human passions, and the inquietudes of vanity, and not to the Author of all good, the Father of lights, then we may safely assert, that the person who so views them is one of those unwise men of whom the Psalmist speaks. He excludes God from his own peculiar work; gives to nature what belongs to grace; to human passions, what belongs to the Divine Spirit; and to secondary causes what must necessarily spring from the First Cause of all things.

Were not the subject too grave, it would be sufficient to excite something more than a smile, to see men both of abilities and learning, in their discussion of spiritual subjects which they have never thoroughly examined, because they have never experimentally felt them, labour to account for all the phenomena of repentance, faith, and holiness, by excluding the Spirit of God from his own proper work; and to the discredit of their understanding, and the dishonour of religion and sound philosophy, search for the principle that produces love to God and all mankind, with all the fruits of a holy life, in some of the worst passions of the human heart.

In reference to a great and manifest revival of religion in the land we have heard the following concessions:—

"It is granted (say such men) that multitudes of the most profligate of the people have been morally changed; and, from being a curse to their respective neighbourhoods, have become a blessing to the whole circle of their acquaintance; the best of servants, sons, and husbands; obedient subjects to the state, and a credit to humanity." But how was this change effected? "Why," say they, "by the persuasive arguments of a powerful orator; who,

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to the love of power and the lust of ambition, added extraordinary address, and general benevolence. With a strong tincture of enthusiasm in himself, which found a tractable disposition in the fanaticism of the age, and the credulity of the common people; he succeeded in raising, organizing, and rendering permanent, a society of increasing influence and importance; the principles of which deserve the investigation of the statesman and the philosopher, and their economy and progress the pen of the historian."

Thus, the good done is reluctantly acknowledged; while the cause of it is either entirely unnoticed, or unknown. A fountain is pointed out which produces sweet waters and bitter; brambles which produce figs, and thorns which produce grapes: or, in other words, that work which neither might nor power, but the Spirit of the Lord of hosts alone can effect, is attributed to a certain mechanical operation on the minds of the multitude, by the agency of worldly ambition, lust of power, self-interest, and hypocrisy!

Thus has the world been often abused in reference to the work of God by ignorant, irreligious, and prejudiced men, from the foundation of Christianity to the present time; but never more, and never more grossly, than in relation to the Rev. John Wesley, and that great revival of scriptural Christianity which it has pleased the world to call Methodism, and the subjects of which it terms Methodists; appellatives which the members of that religious Society bear, not because they have either chosen or approved of them, but because the public will have it so.

The fame of Mr. Wesley's labours, writings, and success in the ministry, has reached most parts of the habitable globe; and wherever his name has been heard, a desire has very naturally been excited to know something of his origin and personal history, and of the rise and progress of

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that work of which he was, under God, the author, and for more than half a century the great superintendant and conductor. To meet this desire, various Lives and Memoirs, possessing different degrees of merit and accuracy, have been published; but in most cases by authors either ill-informed, or prejudiced. To some of those writers Mr. Wesley was never personally known, and they were obliged to collect their information from such quarters as were but ill calculated to give what was correct; by others, the whole system of Methodism was misunderstood; and no wonder if by them it were misrepresented. Most of the narratives referred to were published shortly after Mr. Wesley's death, before the great principles, both religious and economical, of Methodism, could have been put to that full and extensive test to which they have since been subjected: and hence the Methodists' Conference have been led to determine that the present matured state of this great work, and the beneficent operation of those principles, should be brought before the public, exhibited in their own light; and that a new history of the founder of Methodism should be compiled from original documents, many of which had not been seen by his previous biographers; the whole being intended to give a correct view of his character and labours in connexion with the present matured state of that work of which the Most High God had made him the chief instrument. The compiler of the present work was requested by the Conference in 1821 to undertake this task. With oppressive feelings, from a deep sense of his own unfitness, he reluctantly acceded, and began to collect and arrange his materials. While thus employed, a number of documents relative to the Wesley Family presented themselves to view; and as some hinderances were unexpectedly found to exist, which prevented the writer from proceeding with the Life of Mr. John Wesley, and

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that of his brother Charles, the companion of his early labours, he was induced to turn his attention to the few remaining memorials of the Wesley Family, principally in his own possession, which time was every moment rendering less and less perfect and legible; many of which had been badly kept while passing through hands that had little interest in their preservation. To render these as complete as the circumstances of the case would admit, great pains were taken to collect from the few remaining contemporaries of the Wesley Family, and their immediate descendants, every authentic anecdote that had been preserved of the original stock and collateral branches of this wondrous tree, whose shade has been extended over various parts of the globe, and under which fowl of every wing have been collected, and found shelter. Had this work been undertaken even thirty years ago, the result would have been much more satisfactory; as at that time many were alive who had seen the cloud arise, and could have supplied the most useful information. But regrets relative to this are vain—these are all dead: fourscore and eight years were sufficient to have swept off all those who had entered into life when God began to pour out his Spirit to produce that reformation in the land which has been since termed Methodism; and more than sufficient to gather into eternal habitations those who had been the original subjects and witnesses of this blessed work.

As to the *original family*, it is most probable that few memorials remain, except those preserved in the following sheets. These cannot be unacceptable to the Methodists, nor uninteresting to the religious public: and both will possibly join in thankfulness for what has been done, and in candidly passing over any inadvertencies or mistakes which they may discover in the work.

If it bear the marks of haste and carelessness, the reader

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may rest assured that none of these either prevailed or existed in the course of this undertaking: long-continued labour precluded haste, and deep anxiety to be accurate and useful precluded carelessness. But whoever considers the difficulty of not only collecting, but of arranging, bits and scraps, verbal communications and items, from a thousand different quarters, will not wonder should they find a few mistakes; and in various parts an inadequacy of composition, should that approach even to a flatness of diction and poverty of language.

To those for whose use these memoirs were chiefly intended, it will be no matter of surprise that the writer should appear the constant advocate of Methodism, the admirer of its doctrines and discipline, and also of the means employed in its propagation.

But while he adores the grace of God, which has produced those wondrous and beneficent results which have fallen under his own notice for more than half a century, he hopes that it will not be supposed that he is hostile to any person who thinks differently from himself on this subject; and much less to any body of Christians whose creed may be in any respect different from his own. He sincerely wishes them all God's speed; and is thankful to God when he sees the interests of genuine Christianity promoted, though by persons who follow not with him.

To all those who have contributed original documents and other information for the use of these Memoirs, he returns his best thanks: but here he should acknowledge that he stands chiefly indebted to his late excellent friend, Miss Sarah Wesley; to the papers of the venerable and Rev. Thomas Stedman, late vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury; to the Rev. James Everett, of Manchester; to Miss Sharp, sister to the late Granville Sharp, Esq., from whom he received those important letters, out of the correspondence

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of her Right Reverend grandfather, the Archbishop of York, that have thrown so much light on the circumstances and early history of the rector of Epworth; and especially to Thomas Marriott, Esq., London, who has spared neither time nor pains, in making various well-directed and successful researches, in reference to facts and circumstances which have contributed so much both to enlarge and enrich the present edition.

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the Originals.

Adam Clarke

James Oglethorpe.
20

Sep. 9. 1735

Cott Hall. 19
Feb 16 1737

1. 1736

John Gillies
21
Dec. 30. 1754

Wm Delamotte

Thomas Coke
16

Sam 17 July 27 1734

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MEMOIRS.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME WESLEY.

FAMILIES have frequently their names from towns, villages, and hamlets; and I therefore give what Hutchins has advanced in the note below.* My own opinion, however, is, that of the origin of the *family name*, little is known; and of the very remote ancestors of Mr. Wesley the records appear to be lost. Of those who were more immediate, some facts have survived the

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* There is a "hamlet in Broadwinsor called Wansley, Wantsley, Wantsleigh, and Wanslew."—*Hutchins*, pp. 467—607, 608, vol. i., edit. ii., 1796.

"Twenty acres of land in Hook, called West Leas," p. 495.

RECTORS, &c.

"George Westley, 18th May, 1403, Treasurer of Sarum; 1404, Prebendary of Bedminster and Radeclyve."—*Hutch.*, p. 430.

"John Westley, Batch. in Degrees, inst. 27th Sept., 1481, parish of Langton Matravers."—*Hutch.*, p. 340.

"John Wannesleigh, Cl. on the resignation of John Crokke, inst. 6th Feb., 1497; Rector of Bettescombe."—*Hutch.*, p. 564.

"John Wennesley, Chapl. of Pilleadon, on the death of John Mangey, inst. 12th Feb., 1508."—*Hutch.*, p. 534.

In the list of Bailiffs and Cofferers for Bridport, stand, A. D. 1691, "James Crabb, James Westley."—*Hutch.*, p. 393.

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general loss of original documents; and these, though scanty, are so singular and characteristic, that it would be injustice to the general narrative to withhold them from the reader.

That the progenitors of the *Wesleys* came from Saxony was believed by the family itself; and that a branch of the paternal tree was planted in Ireland was also credited by them.

About forty-five years ago, I met with a family in the county of Antrim in that kingdom, of the name of *Posley*, or *Postley;* who said that their name was originally *Wesley*, but that it had been corrupted by a provincial pronunciation of P for W.

Whether it were the same family with the *Wesleys* of *Dangan*, in the county of Meath, in Ireland, that were called *Posley*, I cannot tell; but a gentleman there of considerable estate, whose family had come from England and settled in Ireland, several generations before that time, wrote to Samuel Wesley, sen., that if he had a son called Charles, he would adopt him for his heir; and at the expense of this gentleman, Charles was actually sent to Westminster school, and had his bills regularly discharged by this unknown friend. But when the gentleman wished to take him over to Ireland, Charles thankfully refused; fearing lest worldly prosperity and its consequences might lead away his heart from due attention to his eternal interests.

The person whom Wesley of Dangan made his heir, and who consequently took the name of Wesley, was Richard Colley of Dublin, who afterwards became the first Earl of Mornington, and was grandfather to the Marquis Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington. *Wellesley* is therefore a corruption, and an awkward one—made by the present Marquis at the time of his creation

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to this title in 1797—of the simple and more elegant name, WESLEY.

If the name were originally Spanish, as some have supposed, it must have undergone a change not less considerable, from *b* or *v*, to *w*; as this double consonant is not found in any words in the Spanish language. Were we to consult the Arabic tongue, which so long prevailed in that country, and which has entered into the composition of so many Spanish words, we might find the name with a peculiar and very significant import. وصلي *wesley* and وصلة *weslah* signify *union* and *conjunction*, from the root وصل *wasala*, he united, joined, conjoined, associated; was near, or contiguous; was united in a bond of friendship, &c.

It may be thought worthy of remark that وصل *wasli* and واصلة *wasleh* are proper names among the Arabians; and a noted person among them, mentioned by Firoozabad bore the name of ابو الوصل *abo al wasli*, or *abool wasli*, the *father of union*, or the *uniting father*. A name more happy or appropriate could not possibly be given to the founder of Methodism. I need not inform the learned reader that the grammatical note ~ called وصلة *weslah*, which signifies *union* or *junction*, is often found on the letter ا *alif*, and indicates that the vowel which terminates the preceding is to be connected with that which follows, *e. g.*, قلب الملك *kalb olmaliki*, "the heart of the king."

The information that the family of the Wesleys came originally from Spain, in which multitudes of Arab families were long settled, has led me into this discussion of the *name*; which the reader will pardon, provided he can turn it to no advantage; for I am ready enough to grant that the etymology may be considered precarious

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as long as we cannot trace the family in a direct line to an Arabic or Moorish origin.

That some of the family had been in the Crusades, or had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, may be inferred from their bearing the escallop shell in their arms. The bearing is gules, three escallops argent, crest a wiveron.

The orthography of the name is not more certain;—it has been written *Westley*, and *Wesley;* and it appears from the Irish family mentioned above, *Postley* and *Posley:* but by the autographs of all the family, from the rector of Epworth down to the present time, I find the name invariably written W-E-S-L-E-Y.

There are several families of this name in England, and some of them very ancient. In the Bibl. Harl., No. 1241, p. 135, I find *Edward Westley*, of Westley, in the reign of Edward I., who married Jane, daughter and heir to John Moore, of Wolverton; who had issue, *William Westley*, who married Cicely, daughter to Roger, son to Hugh Hagger, Knight; who had issue, *John Westley*, who married Margaret, daughter and heir to John Brailes. This John took the name of Porterr, and had issue *John Porterr*, who married Gwer, daughter and heir to David ap Bods Goch. After this, the name is lost in that of Porter.

When Mr. Samuel Wesley, sen. entered himself at Exeter college, Oxford, in the year 1684, he signed himself *Samuel Westley;* but he himself afterwards dropped the *t*, which he said was restoring the name to its original orthography.*

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* Hutchins has it *Westley, Westly, Wesly.* Westley is the name given also by Baxter, in his "Life," by Wood, in the "Athenæ Oxon.;" and by Calamy, "Continuation."

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As, through the Act of Uniformity passed in 1662, some of Mr. Wesley's more remote ancestors suffered greatly, being conscientious nonconformists, it will be necessary, before I proceed in their history, to give some account of that act, its influence and consequences.

No reader of English history can be unacquainted with the troubles relative to religion which took place in the unhappy reign of Charles I., by which the kingdom was severely agitated, and the existence of genuine piety threatened with total ruin.

The nation was divided, both in politics and religion, between the Church and the Dissenters; or perhaps, more properly, between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism: the former contending for unlimited or absolute monarchy in the state, and episcopacy in the church; the latter strongly intent on the establishment of a limited monarchy in the state, and church government either by presbyters solely, or by a union of presbyters and bishops.

But though this description be generally true of the parties denominated as above, yet there were many exceptions among individuals of sound sense and learning on both sides.

Many conscientious and eminent churchmen saw and inveighed against the danger of carrying prerogative too far, and wished to promote such measures in ecclesiastical matters as might unite and cement in one body all the faithful of the land.

Among the Dissenters many were found, especially during the civil wars and the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, who wished to establish republicanism in the state and presbyterianism in the church. But the many on both sides endeavoured to push on their own principles of civil and ecclesiastical government to their utmost consequences. Moderation was considered indecision,

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half-heartedness, and temporizing, by one party; and hypocrisy, disloyalty, and treachery by the other. *Medio tutissimus ibis*, "the golden mean is best," was no common adage in those days; and division in politics and religion produced suspicion and enmity; and soon, variance, hatred, and malice lighted up the flames of a civil war.

The king seemed to think that the royal prerogative was omnipotent. The parliament withstood his encroachments on the liberties of the subject; each side had numerous partisans. They at last took the field; and a long, most unnatural, and sanguinary war terminated in the total overthrow of the royal party; the capture, trial, condemnation, and death of the king himself, who was beheaded, January 30th, 1649.

By this dreadful issue, monarchical government and the House of Lords were abolished; the episcopal hierarchy overturned; and a species of aristocratical republicanism, under the name of the Commonwealth of England, established in the state; of which the most able and successful of the King's enemies, Oliver Cromwell, was ultimately declared the Protector.

On the death of this powerful chief, who ruled in the professed republic with nearly the same authority that an Asiatic despot rules his states; and who, by his counsels, fleets, and armies, rendered the British name formidable throughout Europe; the nation, far from being satisfied with the new form of government, torn by many dissensions, and smarting with its recent wounds, looked to the restoration of its monarchy as the only means of healing its distractions and restoring public confidence; and was glad to invite back from his exile Charles, the late king's son; who without difficulty or contest ascended the paternal throne, May 29, 1660, after the nation had suffered an *interregnum* of eleven years.

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As the presbyterians and independents had a considerable share in the restoration of the king, with which circumstance he was not unacquainted, and the episcopal party seemed little inclined to form any kind of union with their dissenting brethren, but rather to establish a religious intolerance, the dissenters applied to the king for some concessions in their favour, chiefly in respect to a free and full toleration in the exercise of their public ministry; and hoped that he would order such a reform in the liturgy that they might be able to use it with a good conscience; or, if not altered to their wishes, that they might not be obliged to use it without having a discretionary power to omit or alter such things as their conscience could not approve, because they appeared to be either contrary to the Holy Scriptures, or to savour too much of popish superstition.

In these things they were encouraged to expect the king's ready concurrence, because, in his letters and declaration sent from Breda, April 14th, 1660, he had expressed a strong desire to discountenance all profaneness and persecution, and to endeavour a happy composing of the differences and healing the breaches made in the church. "And because," adds the declaration, "the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other; which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature

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deliberation shall be offered unto us, for the full granting that indulgence."*

And he had in his conferences with them fully declared his mind, that none of them should suffer on account of not using the Common Prayer; nor for the omission of the religious ceremonies there prescribed.

In consequence of these declarations, the ministers of the presbyterian persuasion drew up two papers containing proposals relative to "the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England," which they humbly presented to the king.

The first paper contains only general matters, and is a sort of introductory preface to the second. In this they earnestly petition his Majesty to grant,—

1. That private exercises of piety may be encouraged.
2. That an able faithful ministry may be kept up; and the insufficient, negligent, non-resident, and scandalous cast out.
3. That a credible profession of faith and obedience be pre-required of communicants.
4. That the Lord's-day may be appropriated to holy exercises, without unnecessary divertisements.

After these requests, they enter at large into the questions relative to discipline, ceremonies, and the Liturgy.

On this the king issued a commission, dated March 25th, 1661, appointing an equal number of divines and learned men on both sides, to review and revise the Liturgy; and to take all other matters into consideration, which had been the cause of dispute; and to report upon them.

The commissioners nominated by the king, and who

* Kennett.

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were appointed to meet at the Savoy, were the following:—

Churchmen: Acceptus Frewen, Archbishop of York; Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London; John Cosin, Bishop of Durham; John Younge, Bishop of Rochester; Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of Sarum; George Morley, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; Benjamin Lanay, Bishop of Peterborough; Brian Walton, Bishop of Chester; Richard Sterne, Bishop of Carlisle; John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter; and Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich.

Dissenters: Anthony Tuckney, D. D.; John Conant, D. D.; William Spurston, D. D.; John Wallis, D. D.; Thomas Manton, D.D.; Edmund Calamy, B.D.; Richard Baxter, Clerk; Arthur Jackson, Thomas Case, Samuel Clarke, Matthew Newcomen, Clerks.

Proxies for the Churchmen: Dr. Earles, Dean of Westminster; Peter Heylen, D. D.; John Hacket, D.D.; John Berwick, D. D.; Peter Gunning, D. D.; John Pearson, D. D.; Thomas Pierce; Anthony Sparrow; Herbert Thorndyke, D. D.

Proxies for the Dissenters: Thomas Horton, D. D.; Thomas Jacomb, D. D.; William Bate, John Rawlinson, Clerks; William Cooper, Clerk; Dr. John Lightfoot; Dr. John Collings; Dr. Benjamin Woodbridg; and William Drake, Clerk.

The first list, containing eleven Bishops, with the Archbishop of York; and the second list, containing eleven Dissenters, are properly the Commissioners to try this cause. The third list, beginning with Dr. Earles and ending with Dr. Thorndyke, was a list of reserve, to supply the place of any of the Bishops, absent or ill. And the fourth list beginning with Dr. Thomas Horton, and ending with William Drake, was a similar list to

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supply the place of any absent Dissenters. Thus we find the commissioners were fairly divided,—eleven Bishops, and eleven dissenting ministers; each party having nine substitutes, in case of necessity: the Archbishop of York was the president. Among these commissioners, on both sides, were some of the most learned and eminent men in the kingdom.

As this arrangement was made by the king and his privy council, and the parties on each side were made equal in number, with an equal number of proxies for each, it is most evident that the king expected the matters in dispute to be settled by a majority of votes, in consequence of each article being fully and fairly discussed. But this was the farthest thing from the minds of the bishops; they were determined to yield nothing, but carry every thing their own way: and the easy king, intent on nothing but his sinful pleasures, made no remonstrance, but permitted them to act as they pleased. The consequence was, the true pastors of the flock were expelled from the fold; and hirelings, who cared more for the fleece and the fat than for the sheep, climbed over the wall, and seized on flocks to which they had no right, either divine or human; and the people of God were either starved or scattered. The Act of Uniformity soon followed, and became the act of the disorganization of the spiritual interests of the kingdom.

To the above-named commissioners a paper was presented, August 30th, intituled, "The exceptions of the Presbyterian brethren against some passages in the Liturgy; accompanied by a very humble address, To the most Rev. Archbishop and Bishops, and the Reverend their assistants, commissioned by his Majesty to treat about the alteration of the Common Prayer."

These exceptions at various sessions were taken into

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consideration; but scarcely any concessions of moment were made by the episcopal party. And the presbyterians, in the answers given to their exceptions, were often treated with great disrespect, and generally in a manner little calculated to conciliate or bring about unanimity.

These several proceedings were delivered to the king by the bishops, and form 128 closely printed 4to. pages.

It need scarcely be added, that no agreement took place between the parties; and the presbyterians, judging themselves not fairly represented, delivered a very moving petition to the king, modestly stating their grievances, and imploring his protection, reminding him of his promise, that none should be punished or troubled for not using the Common Prayer, till it should be effectually reformed. And, foreseeing that a rigorous Act of Uniformity was about to be made, they conclude thus:—"We crave your Majesty's pardon for the tediousness of this address, and shall wait in hope that so great a calamity of your people, as will follow the loss of so many able faithful ministers as the rigorous imposition would cast out, shall never be recorded in the history of your reign; but that these impediments of concord being forborne, your kingdom may flourish in piety and peace. That this may be the signal honour of your happy reign, and your joy in the day of your account, is the prayer of your Majesty's faithful and obedient subjects."

Whether the king were disposed to favour them, or had forgotten his promises, is, at this time, a matter of little importance. Every thing was carried with a high and inconsiderate hand; and the Act of Uniformity was constructed on the grounds proposed by the bishops, and passed into a law.

To save the reader the trouble of going elsewhere to

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consult this Act,* as tedious and monotonous as it was oppressive, I shall here present him with the sum and substance of it, as far as it affected the consciences and privileges of the opposite party.

"Be it enacted, That all and singular ministers in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish church or chapel, or other place of public worship, within this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, shall be bound to say and use the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, celebration and administration of both the Sacraments; and all other the public and common prayer, in such order and form, as it is mentioned in the said Book annexed and joined to this present act, and intituled,

"The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England: together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches; and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons.

"And the Morning and Evening prayers therein contained shall, upon every Lord's-day, and upon all other days and occasions, and at the time therein appointed, be openly and solemnly read, by all and every minister or curate, in every church or chapel, or other place of public worship, within this realm of England, and places aforesaid.

"Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, who now hath and enjoyeth any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion within this realm of England, or places afore-

* 13 and 14 Car. II., cap. 4.

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said, shall, in the church, chapel, or place of public worship belonging to the said benefice or promotion, upon some day before the Feast of Saint Bartholomew (August 24th), which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1662, openly, publicly, and solemnly read the morning and evening prayer appointed to be read by and according to the said Book of Common Prayer, at the times thereby appointed: and, after such reading thereof, shall openly and publicly, before the congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use, and all things in the said book contained and prescribed, in these words and no other:

> "I, A. B., do hereby declare my unfeigned assent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book intituled, 'The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England; together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches: and the Form and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.'

"And that all and every such person who shall neglect or refuse to do the same within the time aforesaid, shall *ipso facto* be deprived of all his spiritual promotions; and that from thenceforth it shall be lawful to and for all patrons and donors of all and singular the said spiritual promotions, or any of them, according to their respective rights and titles, to present or collate to the same, as though the person or persons so offending or neglecting were dead.

"That no person shall be capable of being admitted to any parsonage, &c., and to consecrate and administer

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the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before such time as he shall be ordained priest by episcopal ordination, upon pain to forfeit for every offence the sum of one hundred pounds.

"That if any person who is by this act disabled to preach any lecture or sermon shall, during the time that he shall continue and remain so disabled, preach any sermon or lecture, that then, for every such offence, the person and persons so offending shall suffer three months' imprisonment in the common gaol, without bail or mainprise."

The same Act required "every schoolmaster and private tutor to be licensed by the archbishop or ordinary of the diocese, on the penalty, for the first offence, of three months' imprisonment; and for every repetition of the offence, three months' imprisonment and five pounds to the king.

I shall here beg leave to make a few remarks upon this Act, in reference to the case of the persons shortly to be introduced to the reader's notice.

1. The Act, whether considered good or bad, politically, was an absolute breach of the king's solemn declaration and engagement to the Dissenters, and indeed to the nation, while he was at Breda, as we have already seen; and argues that either he was a man of no moral principle, had no regard to his honour nor to his promise, or that his ministers were cruel and malicious men, who well knew the religious scruples of many of his best friends, and how they must be in every way injured by the passing of such an act.

2. The breach of promise made to the Dissenters was a most dangerous measure, as it put to too severe a test the loyalty of a great part of the nation, and served to

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widen the breach between them and the established church; the rulers of which, they had too much reason to believe, were the principal promoters of this measure.

3. The Act required from every minister a solemn declaration, while ministering in the presence of Almighty God—more solemn, if possible, than any oath—of his unfeigned assent to all and every thing contained in, and prescribed by, the Book of Common Prayer, the Psalter, as there printed and pointed, and to all the rites and ceremonies therein enjoined. Now this is more than any man can with a pure conscience say of any human composition of devotion. The *Bible* alone, *as it came from God*, can be thus safely acknowledged; and not even a *translation* of that most sacred book, nor any of the ancient Versions in which it has been handed down to posterity. Though I regard the Liturgy of the Church of England as the purest form of devotion ever composed by man, and next in excellence to the inspired Volume, yet there are words and phrases in it to which I could not declare my assent; and as to the Psalter contained in that book, it is in many places a false and inefficient translation, foreign from the Hebrew verity, with the insertion of a multitude of words which have nothing corresponding to them in the original, while printed as if they were the words of the Holy Spirit! And as to the pointing, it is generally barbarous, and often destructive of the sense. What divine, who ever read a Psalm of David in the original could give his solemn assent to this composition as it now stands?

4. This Act was intended as a snare to catch many upright men. Many of the clergy of those times doubted greatly whether the hierarchy were exactly conformable to Scripture. Lord King's position, that bishops and presbyters were the same order in the primitive church,

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was a very general opinion among those afterwards called Nonconformists; and was the opinion of the late Mr. John Wesley. These were fully convinced that ordination by presbyters was a valid and scriptural ordidation; and many of the clergy at that time had none other. But the act, without Scripture or reason, annuls and sweeps this away at a stroke; and none is permitted to minister in holy things unless episcopally ordained; an ordination which not one of the opposite party could procure, unless he had been in every sense a thorough conformist.

5. The Act took upon it to restrain and destroy, as far as it could, the spirit of prophecy, or the gift of Christian preaching. Many of those excellent men believed themselves fully called of God to the work of the ministry. But this Act forbade them to preach unless they had episcopal ordination; and although a dispensation of the Gospel was committed unto them, and God pronounced a woe on such as preached it not; yet one sermon or lecture of the person who did not, because he could not, conform as above, was punished by three months' imprisonment in the common gaol; and those who had the word of the Lord, and could not be silent, were thus treated, and with circumstances also of relentless rigour.

6. The Act was not only persecuting, but unjust, as it deprived of the means of subsistence men who were educated for this function; who had been regularly, according to the custom of the times, inducted and employed in it, and had the subsistence of themselves and their families from it. But in one day upwards of two thousand of them were left without a morsel of bread, because they would not defile their consciences by solemnly affirming what they did not believe.

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7. The Act was cruel, as it endeavoured to prevent them from getting their bread by public or private teaching, as schoolmasters and tutors, unless licensed by the archbishop or ordinary of the diocese, under the penalty of three months' imprisonment; and for every repetition of this offence, so called, three months' imprisonment and five pounds to the king. And the reader may rest assured that every minister who could not conscientiously assent to EVERY THING in the Prayer Book was not likely to be licensed by a bishop as a teacher of youth.

8. The Act had as much respect to rites and ceremonies as to prayers and preaching; hence it required every minister "openly and publicly, before the congregation, to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of *all things* in the said book contained and prescribed." But, notwithstanding the general excellence of this book, it would puzzle the first casuist in the church to show the moral or spiritual use of several things therein contained and prescribed.

I have made these remarks to show the nature and operation of this, at that time, most illiberal and malicious Act, in order to vindicate the persons who were its victims; who, on account of their conscientious steadiness, have been represented as foolish, fanatical, and obstinate men, because they would not solemnly affirm what they did not believe. And, for my own part, far from being surprised that so great a number as two thousand and twenty-five, according to Mr. Palmer's reckoning,* were cast out of the church in one day, I am rather surprised that one learned or conscientious

* De Foe says above 3000. See his "Life and Times," by Wilson, vol. i., p. 17.

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minister was found, on the requisitions of the act, to retain his living.

High churchmen may "extol the authors and framers of this Act as deserving the everlasting praises and blessings of the church." But while honesty, or rendering to every man his due, can be considered a blessing in society, and the steady attendant upon justice,—while humanity and mercy are esteemed the choicest characteristics of man, and while sound learning is valued as the ornament and handmaid of religion,—this Act, in its operation on St. Bartholomew's day (August 24, 1662), must be regarded as a scandal to the state, and a reproach to the church.

Against the operations of this act the ministers of London met, drew up and presented a memorial to the king. The original is preserved, and is in the possession of William Upcott, Esq., of the London Institution. Of this I have taken a fac simile, which, not only for its matter, but because it exhibits the *autographs* of so many distinguished divines, will, I have no doubt, be much prized by the majority of my readers.

"To the King's most excellent Majestie, the humble Petition of diverse Ministers in the City of London.

"May it please your most excellent Majestie,

"Upon former experience of your Majestie's tendernes and indulgence to your obedient and loyall subjects, in which number with all clerenes we can reckon ourselves; wee, some of the ministers of London, who are likely, by the late Act of Uniformity, to be throwen out of all publique service in the ministry (because we cannot in conscience conform to all things required in the said act), do take the boldnes humbly to cast ourselves and our concernments at your feet, desiring that out of

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your princely wisdom and compassion, you would take such effectual course whereby we may be continued in the exercise of our ministrie, to teach your people obedience to God and your Majestie. And we doubt not, but by our dutifull and peaceable cariage therein, we shall render ourselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favour.

Thomas Manton.	Edm. Calamy.
Wm. Bates.	Tho. Jaconel.
James Nalton.	Samuel Annesley.
Ri. Adams.	Tho. Case.
Hen. Hurst.	Wm. Blackemour.
Matth. Haveland.	Wm. Whitaker.
Sam. Clarke.	Peter Vinke.
Tho. White.	Joseph Church.
John Wills.	John Sheffield.
Ar. Barham.	Tho. Watson."

This petition was exhibited Aug. 27, 1662, and read in council the next day: but the king acting in all things by the advice of the bishops, the prayer of those eminent men was totally disregarded.

No doubt the reader has already considered me a rigid dissenter, because of the above review of the Act of Uniformity, in its predisposing causes, and subsequent effects: but he is highly mistaken. Bred up in the bosom of the church, I am strongly attached to it from principle and conscience; and notwithstanding the blots, the existence of which in the Liturgy I cannot deny, I would not change that form of sound words for any thing that dissent could offer me as a substitute. But I abominate the Act of Uniformity, for its oppression, injustice, and cruelty; and because it gave a blow to the piety of the national church, from which it is still

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but slowly recovering. It deprived her of multitudes of her brightest ornaments, whose works have been a credit and a bulwark to the Reformation, and still praise them in the gates. Neither interest nor disaffection prompts this eulogium! *Fiat justitia; ruat cœlum!* †

OF MR. WESLEY'S ANCESTORS.

THE REV. BARTHOLOMEW WESLEY, MR. J. WESLEY'S GREAT GRANDFATHER.

FROM whatever part of the world the family of the Wesleys may have originally come, whether descended from Asiatic, Spanish, or Saxon progenitors; or whether

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* Mr. Southey, in his Book of the Church, vol. ii., page 481, says, "The Liturgy, as approved by the convocation and confirmed by the king under the great seal, was presented to the parliament, and received; and an Act of Uniformity passed, with seven clauses which the wisest statesmen and truest friends of the church disapproved, but were unable to prevent. One of these excluded all persons from the ministry who had not received episcopal ordination; all, therefore, who had received presbyterian orders were to quit their benefices, or submit to be re-ordained. Another required a subscription from every man about to receive any preferment in the universities or the church, declaring his assent and consent to every thing in the Book of Common Prayer, . . . words which gave occasion to cavils of the same kind as had been raised against the et cetera oath. But the touchstone was a clause which the Commons introduced, for another qualifying subscription, wherein the subscriber declared it was not lawful upon any pretence to take arms against the king; abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person; and renounced the covenant as imposing no obligation upon him or any others, and unlawful in itself. Any clergyman who should not fully conform to this act by St. Bartholomew's day, which was about three months after it was published, was, *ipse facto*, to be deprived of his cure; and the act was so worded as not to leave it in the king's power to dispense with its observance.

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indigenous in Britain, through a long train of ancestry; posterity can mount no higher in tracing it than to about the end of the sixteenth century. Mr. J. Wesley (Works, vol. v., p. 83), mentions a "letter, *this* his grandfather's father had written to her he was to marry" in a few days, dated 1619; consequently, he must have been born about the close of the sixteenth century. We may, therefore, date the birth of Mr. Bartholomew Wesley about 1595; but so far as we can trace the family back, we find, as one of Mr. Wesley's biographers has remarked, "his ancestors appear respectable for learning, conspicuous for piety, and firmly attached to those views of Christianity which they had formed from the sacred Scriptures."

The Rev. Bartholomew Wesley, great-grandfather to the founder of the Methodists, is mentioned by Hutchins among the rectors of Catherston,* in Dorsetshire, in the

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* "This little village stands upon the decline of a hill, a mile north from Charmouth, in the south-western extremity of Dorsetshire. It does not occur in Domesday Book, being, perhaps, included in some other parish. The church was dedicated to St. Mary, 1511, but contains nothing remarkable. The rectory is not mentioned in the Valor, 1291. In Bishop Chandler's Register (folio 47, *inter acta*), this church is said to have been long unofficiated in, *ob exililatum*; and, on the same account, has generally, some time before and since the Reformation, been held by the same person as Charmouth. It is a discharged living in Bridport deanery.

Present value	2	16	10½
Tenths	0	5	8½
Bishop's Procurations	0	0	0
Archdeacon's Procurations, *olim*	0	1	1½
Clear Yearly Value	15	0	0

"The return to the commission, 1650, was, Bartholomew Westley's glebe, five acres, worth £3 10 0; his small tithes, £10 0 0; in all £13 10 0." The following is the ecclesiastical

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year 1650. And in the year 1662 we find him among those who suffered by the aforesaid Act of Uniformity; being ejected from his living of Charmouth, a village in the same county, remarkable for its singular situation at the foot of a hill which is 1005 feet high, and opposite to another which is 970. His own name was to him ominous, as he was deprived of every earthly good, and suspended from his ministerial functions on the festival of the *saint* after whom he was called. He was succeeded in his living of Catherston by a person of the name of Benjamin Bird, Oct. 14, 1662; and of Charmouth by Timothy Hallett, 4 March, 1662. See the Nonconformist's Memorial, by Palmer, vol. ii., p. 125; and Hutchins's Dorset, second edit.

I cannot find of what university or college he was: but most probably of Oxford. Dr. Calamy states, that when he was at the university he applied himself to the study of physic as well as divinity. In the former practice he appears to have acquired some celebrity; for while he was in his living of Charmouth, he was often consulted as a physician: and after his ejectment he applied himself chiefly to this profession, and gained a livelihood by it; though he continued, as the times would permit, to preach occasionally.

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return:—"Rectors: Laurence Orchard, 1554; Bartholomew Westley, 1650; Benjamin Bird, 14 Oct., 1662." The return to the commission in 1650, for Charmouth, was: "Bartholomew Westley, the present possessor by sequestration. That the house and four acres of glebe are worth, per annum, £4; the tythes of the parish, £18. They desire that Catherston may continue annexed, as it was by order of the committee of the county." The church record is: Rectors: Samuel Norrington, 1599: he was sequestered, 1640: Bartholomew Westley, intruder; he was ejected after the restoration: Timothy Hallett, 4 March, 1662."—*Hutchins's Dorset*, vol. i., pp. 313—316.

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It appears from the history of the Nonconformists, that many of the ministers when ejected had recourse to the practice of physic for a subsistence; as there were no other means left in their power by which they might gain their bread. They were proscribed and incapacitated as preachers, both in public and private, by the Act of Uniformity; and though their learned education had qualified them to be instructors of youth as public schoolmasters, or to give private tuition in the families of the nobility and gentry; yet, this also was on grievous penalties proscribed by the act: hence they had no alternative but to study and practise medicine. For this, some had received previous qualifications at the university, as was the case, as just noticed, of Mr. Bartholomew Wesley. But others had no advantage of the kind; and, therefore, practised at great hazard. This caused one of them to say to the persons by whom the ejectment was put in force against him, "I perceive that this is like to occasion the death of many." The commissioners, supposing these words to savour of contumacy and rebellion, questioned him severely on the subject. To whom he replied, "that being deprived by the act of every means of getting his bread in those ways for which he was qualified, he must have recourse to the practice of medicine, which he did not properly understand, and thereby the lives of many of his patients would most probably be endangered."

This was no doubt the case in very many instances. They acted according to the best they knew, in order to help their neighbours and gain an honest livelihood; but, like many, even to the present day, though useful where disease bore no uncommon type, were often deceived by fallacious appearances, and took the more prominent symptoms, which were only indications of

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complication, or of spurious morbid action, as pointing out the immediate cause of the disorder; prescribed accordingly; and thereby formed a new disease, which not unfrequently terminated the life of the unhappy patient.

If regular and well-educated practitioners be liable to make such mistakes (and nothing is more certain), what must it be with the unskilful, and the immense colluvies of quack doctors, who now vend medicines for the infallible cure of every disorder, under authority of indisputable patents!

Dr. Garth nervously describes the ruin spread through society by licensed and unlicensed empirics. "Non tamen telis vulnerat ista agyrtarum colluvies, sed theriaca quadam magis perniciosa: non pyris sed pulvere nescio quo exotico certat; non globulis plumbeis, sed pilulisque lethalibus interficit."

"This herd of vermin inflict no wound by daggers; but by a certain *mithridate* much more pernicious. They arm not themselves with cataplasms, but with a species of unknown exotic powder. They kill not with leaden bullets, but with pills equally *lethal*."

From Dr. Calamy's account, it appears that Mr. Wesley's preaching was not very popular, owing, he says, to a peculiar plainness of speech. In what this consisted, we are not told; but this we well know, that plainness of speech, while the sense is good, and the doctrine sound, would not prevent the popularity of any preacher in the present day. His great-grandson studied the utmost plainness of speech in all his ministrations,—yet who more popular? who more successful?

Mr. Bartholomew Wesley lived some years after his ejectment; but when he died is uncertain. All that we know is this, that he was so affected by the premature

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death of his excellent son John, who was also a minister, that his health rapidly declined, and he did not long survive him. This must have been some time after 1678. See the succeeding account of his son John.

There is a story told of Mr. B. Wesley by Anthony à Wood, in the Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii., col. 963, which requires examination.

Speaking of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, sen., rector of Epworth, he says, "The said Samuel Wesley is grandson to ——— Wesley, the fanatical minister, some time of Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, at what time [1651] the Lord Wilmot and King Charles II. had like to have been by him betrayed, when they continued incognito in that country."

Though a good sire may have a bad son, and a good son a bad sire—and the delinquency of ancestors should not be imputed to their posterity—yet I own I should feel grieved could a charge of treachery be fairly proved against the Wesley family, or that it could be made to appear that it had ever produced a person disaffected to the state.

I have taken some pains to inquire into the authenticity of this story,* so confidently related by Wood, and shall lay before the reader the result of my inquiries.

In the wonderful adventure of Charles II., in his attempts to recover his paternal kingdom, the story of his narrow escape at Charmouth is told by most of our historians and annalists.

It appears that Lord Wilmot and Colonel Wyndham, who had accompanied the king in disguise, after his unfortunate defeat at Worcester, September 3, 1651,

* Mr. Hutchins has the story told by Wood, and refers to a tract called "Boscobel," pp. 131—133, ed. 1725. See also Gent.'s Mag., vol. lv., p. 427.

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wishing to escape to the continent, came to Lyme, in Dorsetshire; and agreed with one Limbry, master of a small sloop of 30 tons, then bound to St. Malo, to take over two gentlemen, and land them on any part of the French coast. The vessel then lay at the Cable, in Lyme; and the owner having agreed to bring it out to a little creek near Charmouth, his Majesty and his party, deeply disguised, waited for its arrival.

Lord Clarendon states, that while they were waiting, the day having been appointed by the parliament for a solemn fast, a fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier in the parliament army, was preaching against the king, in a little chapel fronting the obscure inn where his Majesty had stopped. Charles, to avoid suspicion, was among the audience. It happened that a smith, of the same principles with the weaver, who had been called to fasten on a shoe belonging to the king's horse, came to inform the preacher, that he knew from the fashion of the shoes that the horse had come from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart; and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But the king, being disappointed of the vessel that was to come out for him in the night, and take him to the French coast, had left the inn, and was gone with Colonel Wyndham to Bridport, and thus escaped.

This is the substance of the relation given by Lord Clarendon, who does not mention the name of the preacher; but merely tells us that he was a fanatical weaver, and had been a soldier in the parliament army.

Here we might rest, and safely affirm that the story of Anthony à Wood is confuted, as far as it relates to Bartholomew Wesley, as none of these characters belong to him. There is no evidence that while he enjoyed

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the living of Charmouth (which he did at this time, 1651, and continued to do till ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662), he had been a weaver, or had ever served in the parliament army. He appears to have been regularly bred at the university for a minister, and never to any handicraft business. He is reckoned among the rectors of Catherston, and had the living of Charmouth, and consequently would not be reputed a fanatical preacher.

The story therefore to which Anthony à Wood alludes, as told by Lord Clarendon, is wholly inapplicable to Bartholomew Wesley.

But it may be asked, where did Wood get the name of Wesley, that he so circumstantially appropriates to the rector of Epworth's grandfather? I answer: He got it partly by mistaking a name, and partly from his own invention. I shall produce the proof.

We have a very circumstantial relation of the king's escape from Worcester, taken from his own mouth by Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, in several days' attendance for that purpose. In that authentic relation, the story, as inserted by Mr. Carte (in his General History of England), no friend to nonconformists, is as follows:—

"The king with his company sat up all night, expecting the ship to come out (i. e., out of the Cable, to come to the creek near Charmouth, according to agreement, see before), and upon her failure, Wilmot was sent with Peters, a servant of Colonel Windham's, to Lyme the next morning, to know the reason. Being troubled how to spend the day, the horses were ordered to be got ready, and the king's, which carried double (for he rode before Mrs. Judith Conisby, as a servant, by

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the name of William Jackson), having a shoe loose, a smith was sent for, who, looking over the shoes of the other horses, he said he knew that some of them had been shod near Worcester. When he had fastened the shoes, he went presently to consult Westby, a rigid, foolish Presbyterian minister of Charmouth, who was then in a long-winded prayer; and before he had done, the king was gone on with Mrs. Conisby and Mr. Wyndham to Bridport."

Now, it may be allowed that Westby may be a mistake for Westley, or Westley for Westby; but still there is no evidence here that Bartholomew Wesley is intended: but were there even no doubt concerning the name, yet the pretended fact, so positively affirmed by the author of the Athenæ, that Lord Wilmot and King Charles II. had like to have been by him betrayed, when they continued incognito in that country, is wholly unsubstantiated; for there is not a word, said Mr. Pepys, who took the relation from the king's own mouth, of any attempt, secret or outward, on the part of this Westby to betray the king; for the account only states that the smith went to consult this Westby, who was then in a long-winded prayer; and before he had done, the king had departed for Bridport. Nor is there any hint that this so called rigid, foolish Presbyterian minister took any steps to discover the king. Betray him he could not, because he was not in his confidence—nor is it hinted that the smith communicated his supposed discovery to the preacher, or that he even waited till he had finished his long-winded prayer.

Lord Clarendon does state that the fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier, did get a constable, and went to detect the king, but he gives no name; and by the

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preacher having been a soldier, and then a weaver, it must be evident for the reasons above assigned that Bartholomew Wesley could not be intended.

There might have been a preacher at Charmouth of the name of Westby who had been a soldier in the parliament army, and then a weaver; and as Anthony à Wood must have known that Mr. Bartholomew Wesley had the living of Charmouth, for he was contemporary, he applied to the regular divine what was only true of him whom he calls the fanatical minister. But Wood's evidence is little worth, for he was a man of a bitter and intolerant spirit, much more inclined to the Church of Rome than to the Protestant Church of England. Bishop Burnet, who lived at the same time, and was well acquainted with the virulence of his spirit, gives him the following character in a letter to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry:—

"That poor writer has thrown together such a tumultuary mixture of stuff and tattle, and has been so visibly a tool of some of the church of Rome to reproach all the greatest men of our church, that no man who takes care of his own reputation will take any thing upon trust that is said by one who has no reputation to lose.

I contend, therefore, that the tale of Anthony à Wood is unlikely, inconsistent, and absurd, as it relates to Mr. B. Wesley; and we need not wonder that the man who was capable of styling the celebrated John Locke a prating, troublesome fellow, should call Mr. B. Wesley the fanatical minister of Charmouth.*

* Anthony à Wood, in his Life, written by himself, under the year 1663, An. 14, Car. II., giving an account of the club that studied chemistry at Oxford, under "the noted chymist, Rosicrucian, Peter Stael of Strasburg," tells us that John Locke, afterwards a noted writer, was one of the club; and adds, "This John Locke

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To conclude, as far as I have been able to search into the political principles of this family, especially from the days of the rector of Epworth, I have found their sentiments of loyalty among the strongest and purest I have ever known.

As this principle has descended to the last branches of the family (for it is now nearly extinct), each appears to have possessed it as a kind of heirloom that has been handed down from the remotest ancestry. John, Mr. Wesley's grandfather, appears to have been shaken for a time in his attachment to the house of Stuart, from the conviction that was very common in the country, that Charles I. was endeavouring to alter the constitution of the kingdom, establish an arbitrary government, and bring back popery, which I believe was the fact; but on the restoration of Charles II., he cheerfully took the oath of allegiance, and faithfully kept it to the end of his life.

Doubts also relative to the legitimacy of the Orange succession, in prejudice of James II. and his heirs, were entertained by some of the collateral branches of the family; but their principles of loyalty could never be

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was a man of a turbulent spirit, clamorous, and never contented. The club wrote and took notes from the mouth of their master, who sate at the upper end of a table, but the said J. Locke scorned to do it; so that, while every man besides of the club was writing, he would be prating and troublesome."—Life, by Hearne, p. 184. The truth is, such a man as Locke could ill brook the rosicrucianism of Stael, or the multifarious tattle of Wood. He had no need of taking notes; he could see farther into the subject on the first mention of a proposition, than Stael, Wood, and the rest of the club could do, after they had waddled through the doctrine of their four elements, earth, air, fire, and water; and that of their three principles, salt, sulphur, and mercury. Those who took most notes on such lectures only lost the most time.

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successfully impeached; and these very scruples arose from their high sense of duty and loyalty, which this history will show was carried to as great lengths as moderation could at all justify. And it should not escape the notice of the historian, as it cannot the attention of the politician and philosopher, that the immense body of Methodists, who may be properly called the spiritual progeny of the last great men of this family, have imbibed the same spirit, and have been as remarkable for their loyalty, as they have been for the simplicity of their manners, the purity of their doctrine, and their zeal for the best interests of their fellow-creatures.

THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

VICAR OF WINTERBORN* WHITCHURCH, DORSETSHIRE, MR. WESLEY'S GRANDFATHER.

This gentleman, who was the son of the Rev. Bartholomew Wesley mentioned above, was very religiously brought up, and dedicated by his pious father to the work of the ministry from his earliest infancy; the con-

* There is a village three miles west of Dorchester, of the name of Winterborn, which is thus named from a river called by Hutchins "South Winterborn, to distinguish it from another rivulet of the same name more northward, near Blandford," p. 507. The parish from which Mr. Wesley was ejected is usually known in Dorsetshire, not by the name of Winterborn, but Whitchurch; but as there is another place of the same name in Dorsetshire, the place spoken of is thus distinguished by Hutchins:—

"Winterborn Whitchurch, Album Monasterium, Blaunch-minster. This village is situated about a mile south-west of Cleniton, on the river Winterborn. It seems to derive its name from the colour of its church, when newly built, or from the chalky hills near it, or from *whit*, a corruption of the British *coit*, *a wood*."—*Hutchins' Dorset.*

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sequence was what might have been expected, he remembered his Creator in, and indeed from, the days of his youth. He was deeply convinced of sin, and had a serious concern for his salvation, when a lad at school; and soon after God began to work upon his soul he kept a diary, in which he recorded not only the most remarkable events of God's promise in his behalf, but more especially the operations of the Divine Spirit upon his heart, and how he felt himself affected by the various means which his heavenly Father used for his salvation, whether in the way of afflictive providences or gracious visitations.

This course he continued with little intermission to the end of his life;* and it was probably his example, which he must have known, that led his grandson, the founder of the Methodists, to follow the same practice; and whose journals are an uncommon treasury of sound learning and just criticism, and of records concerning the gracious influence of God on ministerial labours, unprecedented and unparalleled.

At a proper age he was entered of New Inn Hall, Oxford; and in due course proceeded A. M. During his stay at the university he was noticed for his seriousness and diligence. He applied himself particularly to the study of the oriental languages, in which he is said to have made great proficiency.

After John Wesley had honourably acquitted himself, and taken his degree at Oxford, we next find him in Dorsetshire, and a member of "a particular church at Melcombe." At this period, the clergymen of Melcombe and Radipole, of Weymouth and Wyke, the two former and the two latter being parochially united, were George Thorne and Walter Burgess; Edmund

* See Calamy's Continuation, p. 437—451.

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Buckler in 1652, one of Cromwell's chaplains, and who was succeeded by a minister of the name of Damer. In addition to these, it is found that a Mr. Janeway was a minister at Melcombe at this time; he was one of four brothers, all good and pious men, who were devoted to the ministry; one of whom wrote "Tokens for Children." The certainty of his residence here is attested by a pamphlet, which has come down to our day; two episcopal clergymen, of the name of Crouch and Poller, who were "under restraints in the garrison of Weymouth," wrote "certaine queries concerning the lawfullness of imposing and taking the negative oath;" and they were "answered by Edmund Buckler, minister of Weymouth, and Peter Janeway, minister of Melcombe Regis." As George Thorne and Walter Burgess were the parochial ministers of Melcombe Regis and Radipole, perhaps Mr. Janeway was the minister of the "gathered church" of which Mr. Wesley was a member.*

By "the church of Christ at Melcombe" Mr. Wesley was sent to preach; his labours were among seamen, and at Radipole; this is the name of a village, which is about two miles distant from Weymouth. He was what was then termed "a preaching minister;" one not called to the *work* of the ministry, but to the *office*. That is, his first designation was not to be a pastor, to govern as a minister in the church, nor to administer the sacraments, but simply to preach the gospel. When old Mr. Walton, the vicar of Winterborn-Whitchurch, died, the people of that parish desired Mr. Wesley to preach to

* Hutchins, vol. i., pp. 415, 416, 417, 602. Ellis's History of Weymouth, p. 117. Among the Independents at Oxford, when Mr. Wesley was at college, were many men of great celebrity; among others, John Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Stephen Charnock, Theophilus Gale, John Howe, &c.

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them. He went; his ministry and life gave satisfaction to those who invited him, and by the trustees he was appointed to the parish. The next necessary step was the approval of the "triers," who will be noticed in a proper place.

The triers who examined and approved John Wesley cannot with certainty be named. By the fragments that have come down to us of those days, we learn that Dorsetshire was blessed with men of eminence as ministers, by whom the people of the country were so well instructed, that the visionaries and antinomians, which then started up—to use the words of Mr. Baxter, "as the river Nilus breeds frogs, when one part moveth (saith Herodotus) before the other is made, and while it is yet but plain mud"—could not make much impression on the well-taught people. In the second part of the "Gangrena," we read that attempts were made to seduce the people at Bere, at Dorchester, &c., but in vain. At Weymouth was George Thorne, "a man of great ministerial abilities;" and Edmund Buckler also, who is said to have been "much the gentleman, a good preacher, and a good writer." John White was a member of the assembly of divines, and commonly known as the patriarch of Dorchester. William Benn, of the same town, "was an eminent divine, famous in all the west of England." Philip Lamb of Bere was also a person of great celebrity; from whom the Rev. Thomas Bellows, who lately died at Pembroke, was a direct descendant. These were among the eminent ministers of Dorsetshire, when Mr. Wesley appeared before the *triers;* and by some of them was very likely approved.* Thus he was

* Nonconformist's Memorial, first edition, vol. i., pp. 477, 450, 442; vol. ii., p. 7.

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by the trustees appointed; by the triers approved; and "the church of Christ," of which he had been a member, "seeing the presence of God going along with him, did (at some period of his ministry) by fasting and prayer, in a day set apart for that end, seek an abundant blessing on his endeavours."*

In May, 1658, he became the minister of Winterborn-Whitchurch. The western road, five miles from Blandford, passes directly through this village, and leads to Dorchester. To the traveller going westward, its church opens beautifully, as he descends to Whitchurch; but coming from the west, the church where Mr. Wesley ministered is hid, until the traveller leave the village at its eastern extremity.

From this place, the return to the commission in 1650 was, "Tobias Walton, incumbent." Mr. Walton died in 1658, aged 89, having been vicar of the parish 56 years. In the record of vicars, the following names are found: "Tobias Walton, 1603. John Wesley, M. A., 1658, ejected 1662. Edward Sutton, inst. 1679."†

Dr. John Owen, who was then Vice-chancellor of the University, showed him great kindness.

It will appear from what has been stated, that Mr. John Wesley began to preach occasionally at the age of twenty-two; and that in May, 1658, he was sent to preach at Whitchurch, the income of which, it may be remarked, was but about thirty pounds per annum. He was promised an augmentation of one hundred pounds a-year: but the many changes in public affairs which took place soon after, prevented him from ever receiving any part of it.

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* Neal, vol. i., pp. 103, 156. Vide note, p. 67.

† Hutchins, vol. i., p. 69, and Calamy's Contin., p. 448.

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Mr. Wesley was respectable in his matrimonial connexions. He married a niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller, prebend of Salisbury, rector of Broad Windsor, and chaplain extraordinary to Charles II. This divine was not only eminent for his learning and writings, but for his prodigious memory. He could repeat a sermon verbatim from once hearing it; and undertook in passing to and from Temple Bar to the Poultry to tell every sign as it stood in order, on both sides of the way, and to repeat them either backwards or forwards; and this task he actually performed!

Dr. Fuller in all his works affects a very quaint style, though it is always terse and nervous. He was fond of PUNNING on others, and was sometimes paid in his own coin. Being in company with a gentleman, whose name was SPARROWHAWK, the doctor, who was very corpulent, facetiously said, "Pray, Sir, what is the difference between an owl and a sparrowhawk?" The gentleman immediately answered, "It is *fuller* in the head, *fuller* in the body, and *fuller* all over."

He was author of the "Church History of Britain," folio; a "Defence of it against Dr. Peter Heylin," folio; the "History of the Holy War," folio; a "Pisgah's Sight of Palestine," folio; a "History of the Worthies of England," folio; "Andronicus, or the Unfortunate Politician," 8vo.; "Introductio ad Prudentiam, or Directions, Counsels, and Cautions tending to the Prudent Management of Affairs in common Life; composed for his only Son," 12mo., 1726; a very excellent and useful work.

By this lady Mr. Wesley had two sons, Matthew and Samuel, of whom hereafter. He is said by Dr. Calamy to have had a numerous family; but the names of none but the above are come down to posterity.

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The same author informs us that, because of this growing family, he was obliged to set up a school in order to maintain it.

It appears that, like his father, he seriously scrupled to use the Common Prayer as it then stood; and, soon after the Restoration, some of his neighbours gave him a great deal of trouble on this account.

Dr. Gilbert Ironside,* bishop of Bristol, was informed by some persons of distinction that Mr. Wesley would not use the Liturgy; and, besides, they stated their opinion that his title to Whitchurch was not valid; and that for some other parts of his conduct he might be prosecuted in a court of justice. The bishop expressing a desire to see and converse with him, he took the first opportunity to wait upon his lordship; and had the following interesting conversation with him, which he entered into his journal, and from which it was transcribed by Dr. Calamy. Though this journal is unfortunately lost, we may be thankful for the extracts which the indefatigable Calamy has preserved:—

Bishop. What is your name?

Wesley. John Wesley.

Bishop. There are many great matters charged upon you.

Wesley. May it please your lordship, Mr. Horlock was at my house on Tuesday last, and acquainted me

* Some of the immediate descendants of this family are now (1835) receiving occasional help from the Wesleyan Methodist Society at Weymouth. Mark Hardy is a poor man, and a member of a society there. His wife's name was Ironside; and for the purpose of attempting to get some property, originally belonging to the Ironsides, this wife and child of Mark Hardy have obtained copies of registers, &c., which prove them to be descended, immediately or collaterally, from Bishop Ironside. So changes the glory of the world!

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that it was your Lordship's desire that I should come to you; and on that account I am here to wait upon you.

Bishop. By whom were you ordained? Or are you ordained?

Wesley. I am sent to preach the gospel.

Bishop. By whom were you sent?

Wesley. By a church of Jesus Christ.

Bishop. What church is that?

Wesley. The church of Christ at Melcombe.

Bishop. That factious and heretical church!

Wesley. May it please you, Sir, I know no faction or heresy that that church is guilty of.

Bishop. No! Did not *you* preach such things as tend to faction and heresy?

Wesley. I am not conscious to myself of any such preaching.

Bishop. I am informed by sufficient men, gentlemen of honour of this county, viz., Sir Gerrard Napper, Mr. Freak, and Mr. Tregonnel, of your doings. What say you?

Wesley. Those honoured gentlemen I have been with, who, being by others misinformed, proceeded with some heat against me.

Bishop. There are the oaths of several honest men who have observed you; and shall we take your word for it that all is but misinformation?

Wesley. There was no oath given or taken. Besides, if it be enough to accuse, who shall be innocent? I can appeal to the determination of the great day of judgment, that the large catalogue of matter laid against me are either things invented or mistaken.

Bishop. Did not you ride with your sword in the time of the committee of safety, and engage with them?

Wesley. Whatever imprudences in matters civil you

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may be informed I am guilty of, I shall crave leave to acquaint your lordship, that his Majesty having pardoned them fully, and I having suffered on account of them since the pardon, I shall put in no other plea, and waive any other answer.

Bishop. In what manner did the church you speak of send you to preach? At this rate every body might preach.

Wesley. Not every one. Every body has not preaching gifts and preaching graces. Besides, that is not all I have to offer to your lordship to justify my preaching.

Bishop. If you preach, it must be according to order; the order of the Church of England, upon an ordination.

Wesley. What does your lordship mean by an ordination?

Bishop. Do not you know what I mean?

Wesley. If you mean that sending spoken of Rom. x., I had it.

Bishop. I mean that. What mission had you?

Wesley. I had a mission from God and man.

Bishop. You must have it according to law, and the order of the Church of England.

Wesley. I am not satisfied in my spirit therein.

Bishop. Not satisfied in your *spirit!* You have more new-coined phrases than ever were heard of! You mean your *conscience*, do you not?

Wesley. *Spirit* is no new phrase. We read of being "sanctified in body, soul, and *spirit*;" but if your lordship like it not so, then I say I am not satisfied in *conscience*, touching the ordination you speak of.

Bishop. Conscience argues science, science supposes judgment, and judgment reason. What reason have you that you will not be thus ordained?

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Wesley. I came not this day to dispute with your lordship; my own inability would forbid me to do so.

Bishop. No, no; but give me your reason.

Wesley. I am not called to office, and therefore cannot be ordained.

Bishop. Why, then, have you preached all this while?

Wesley. I was called to the *work* of the ministry, though not to the *office*. There is, as we believe, *vocatio ad* OPUS, *et ad* MUNUS.*

Bishop. Why may you not have the office of the ministry? You have so many new distinctions! O, how are you deluded!

Wesley. May it please your lordship, because they are not a people that are fit objects for me to exercise office-work among them.

Bishop. You mean a gathered church: but we must have no gathered churches in England; and you will see it so. For there must be unity without divisions among us; and there can be no unity without uniformity. Well, then, we must send you to your church, that they may dispose of you, if you were ordained by them.

Wesley. I have been informed by my cousin Pitfield†

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* A call to the *work*, and a call to the *office*.

† "A good report of the bishop had been conveyed to Mr. Wesley by his cousin Pitfield; and to the character of the accused, Mr. Glisson, Sir Francis Fulford, and others were willing to bear testimony, in opposition to the reports of Sir Gerard Naper, Mr. Freke, Mr. Tregonwell, and other bitter enemies previously noticed. The three last-mentioned persons were zealous partizans, in support of the new order of things; the first was of More Critchell, where he entertained the king, 1665; he died 1672, and was buried at Mintern: the second was of Shroton, near Turnwood: the third was of Milton Abbas, in whose family was the advowson of Whitchurch, which is some three miles from what

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and others, concerning your lordship, that you have a disposition opposed to morosity. However you may be prepossessed by some bitter enemies to my person, yet there are others who can and will give you another character of me. Mr. Glisson hath done it; and Sir Francis Fulford desired me to present his service to you, and, being my hearer, is ready to acquaint you concerning me.

Bishop. I asked Sir Francis Fulford whether the presentation to Whitchurch was his. Whose is it? He told me it was not his.

Wesley. There was none presented to it these sixty

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was the seat of the Tregonwells. As a reward for their loyalty, each became sheriff for the county. Of Gerard Napier something more will be found. Sir Francis Fulford resided in Mr. Wesley's parish, was his hearer, and best able to form an estimate of his worth; Francis Glisson, M. D., was a native of near Maiden Newton, in Dorset; he was educated at Cambridge; he afterwards obtained literary honours at Oxford, was at the siege of Colchester, 1648, and died 1677. The force and reason of his appeal to the Glisson family will more fully appear, when it is stated that the wife of Bishop Ironside was Alice, the daughter of William Glisson, gent., and who was afterwards buried in Bristol Cathedral. The Pitfields held lands near Beaminster, in Dorset; the only sister of Bishop Ironside was a neighbour of this family; Broadwinsor, where Fuller was vicar, whose niece Mr. Wesley married, is but some two or three miles distant from the former residence of the Pitfields; these places are in the vicinity of the parishes where Gilbert Ironside was the rector. This leads us not only to see how the parties mentioned were known to the bishop, but also the residence of his cousin Pitfield, Mr. Glisson, the young female who afterwards became his wife, and his living at Weymouth, seem to point out the south-west part of Dorsetshire as the abode of Mr. Wesley's early life: in the western part of this county, we have seen, his father was the rector of two parishes; and in this direction, most likely, John Wesley was born."—*Beal's Fathers.*

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years. Mr. Walton lived there. At his departure, the people desired me to preach to them; and when there was a way of settlement appointed, I was by the trustees appointed, and by the triers approved.

Bishop. They would approve any that would come to them, and close with them. I know they approved those who could not read twelve lines of English.

Wesley. All that they did I know not; but I was examined touching gifts and graces.

Bishop. I question not your gifts, Mr. Wesley. I will do you any good I can; but you will not long be suffered to preach, unless you do it according to order.

Wesley. I shall submit to any trial you shall please to make. I shall present your lordship with a confession of my faith; or take what other way you please to insist on.

Bishop. No. We are not come to that yet.

Wesley. I shall desire several things may be laid together which I look on as justifying my preaching. 1. I was devoted to the service from my infancy. 2. I was educated thereto, at school and in the university.

Bishop. What university were you of?

Wesley. Oxon.

Bishop. What house?

Wesley. New Inn Hall.

Bishop. What age are you?

Wesley. Twenty-five.

Bishop. No sure, you are not!

Wesley. 3. As a son of the prophets, after I had taken my degrees, I preached in the country, being approved of by judicious able Christians, ministers, and others. 4. It pleased God to seal my labour with success, in the apparent conversion of several souls.

Bishop. Yea, that is, it may be, to your own way.

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Wesley. Yea, to the power of godliness, from ignorance and profaneness. If it please your lordship to lay down any evidences of godliness agreeing with the Scriptures, and if they be not found in those persons intended, I am content to be discharged from my ministry; I will stand or fall by the issue thereof.

Bishop. You talk of the power of godliness such as you fancy.

Wesley. Yea, the reality of religion. Let us appeal to any common-place book for evidences of grace, and they are found in and upon these converts.

Bishop. How many are there of them?

Wesley. I number not the people.

Bishop. Where are they?

Wesley. Wherever I have been called to preach. At Radpole, Melcomb, Turnwood, Whitchurch, and at sea. I shall add another ingredient of my mission, 5. When the church saw the presence of God going along with me, they did by fasting and prayer, in a day set apart for that end, seek an abundant blessing on my endeavours.

Bishop. A particular church?

Wesley. Yes, my lord. I am not ashamed to own myself a member of one.

Bishop. Why, you mistake the apostles' intent. They went about to convert heathens, and so did what they did. You have no warrant for your particular churches.

Wesley. We have a plain, full, and sufficient rule for gospel worship in the New Testament, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles.

Bishop. We have not.

Wesley. The practice of the apostles is a standing rule in those cases which were not extraordinary.

Bishop. Not their practice, but their precepts.

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Wesley. Both precepts and practice. Our duty is not delivered to us in Scripture only by precepts; but by precedents, by promises, by threatenings mixed; not common-place wise. We are to follow them, as they followed Christ.

Bishop. But the apostle said, "This speak I, not the Lord;" that is, by revelation.

Wesley. Some interpret that place, "This speak I now, by revelation from the Lord;" not the Lord in that text before instanced, when he gave answer to the case concerning divorce. May it please your lordship, we believe that "cultus non institutus est indebitus."*

Bishop. It is false.

Wesley. The second commandment speaks the same, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image."

Bishop. That is, forms of your own invention.

Wesley. Bishop Andrews, taking notice of "non facies tibi,"† satisfied me that we may not worship God but as commanded.

Bishop. You take discipline, church government, and circumstances for worship.

Wesley. You account ceremonies a part of worship.

Bishop. But what say you? Did you not wear a sword in the time of the committee of safety, with Demy and the rest of them?

Wesley. My lord, I have given you my answer therein; and I farther say that I have conscientiously taken the oath of allegiance, and faithfully kept it hitherto. I appeal to all that are round about me.

Bishop. But nobody will trust you. You stood it out to the last gasp.

Wesley. I know not what you mean by the last gasp.

* Worship not enjoined, is not binding.

† Thou shalt not make to thyself.

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When I saw the pleasure of Providence to turn the order of things, I did submit quietly thereunto.

Bishop. That was at last.

Wesley. Yet many such men are trusted, and now about the king.

Bishop. They are such as, though on the parliament side during the war, yet disown those latter proceedings: but you abode even till Haselrig's coming to Portsmouth.

Wesley. His Majesty has pardoned whatever you may be informed of concerning me of that nature. I am not here on that account.

Bishop. I expected you not.

Wesley. Your lordship sent your desire by two or three messengers. Had I been refractory, I need not have come; but I would give no just cause of offence. I think the old Nonconformists were none of his majesty's enemies.

Bishop. They were traitors. They began the war. Knox and Buchanan in Scotland, and those like them in England.

Wesley. I have read the protestation, of owning the king's supremacy.

Bishop. They did it in hypocrisy.

Wesley. You used to tax the poor Independents for judging folks' hearts. Who doth it now?

Bishop. I did not; for they pretended one thing and acted another. Do not I know them better than *you?*

Wesley. I know them by their works; as they have therein delivered us their hearts.

Bishop. Well then, you will justify your preaching, will you, without ordination according to the law?

Wesley. All these things laid together are satisfactory to me for my procedure therein.

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Bishop. They are not enough.

Wesley. There has been more written in proof of preaching of gifted persons, with such approbation, than has been answered by any one yet.

Bishop. Have you any thing more to say to me, Mr. Wesley?

Wesley. Nothing. Your lordship sent for me.

Bishop. I am glad I heard this from your own mouth. You will stand to your principles, you say?

Wesley. I intend it, through the grace of God; and to be faithful to the king's majesty, however you deal with me.

Bishop. I will not meddle with you.

Wesley. Farewell to you, Sir.

Bishop. Farewell, good Mr. Wesley.

Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. ii., p. 165.

There is no evidence that the bishop forfeited his word by giving Mr. Wesley any disturbance. How he was treated by others we shall see shortly. But before I proceed farther in his history, I think it necessary to make some remarks on the preceding dialogue; as there are some things in it which require explanation.

I. The conversation mentioned here must have taken place after the year 1660. For on Jan. 13 of that year was Dr. Gilbert Ironside consecrated bishop of Bristol; the see having been vacant, through the calamities of the times, from the death of Dr. Thomas Howell, in the year 1646, to the year above-mentioned (vide *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, 566).

There was another Dr. Gilbert Ironside, son of the preceding, who was bishop of Bristol. But this could not be the prelate in question. The preceding held the see from 1660 to 1671, so that the conversation took

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place some time in that period;* and certainly before the passing the Act of Uniformity in 1662, as that event is here alluded to as shortly to take place.

II. The committee of safety mentioned by the bishop was formed, Oct. 26, 1659, by the great officers of the army. It consisted of twenty-three persons, who were ordered "to endeavour some settlement of the government;" for after the death of Cromwell, on Sept. 3 of the preceding year, the nation was greatly distracted; there was no efficient civil government, and the power fell wholly into the hands of the army.

This committee was invested with the full power of the council of state; and were to "prepare such a form of government as might best comport with a free state and commonwealth, without a single person, kingship, or house of lords."—See *Rapin.*

It was at this time, 1659, that Sir Arthur Haselrig was sent to Portsmouth by the parliament, the town and garrison of which declared for them, against the orders of the committee of safety.

The Bishop accuses Mr. Wesley that he continued till the last gasp; i. e., that he held with the parliament against the restoration of the king till the time that Haselrig came to Portsmouth; soon after which he and all the army joined with MONK; and the king was invited over, proclaimed in London, May 8, 1660, and landed at Dover on the 25th.

The declaration of Portsmouth for the parliament was one of the last public acts against the restoration of the king; and might be fitly denominated, as here by the bishop, the last gasp, i. e., of the republican government in England.

III. What is implied in his wearing a sword at that

* Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bart. was appointed bishop in 1685.

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time I cannot tell: whether it was for personal safety, or as a soldier, or as an ensign of some office. During the existence of the committee of safety, the whole nation was under military law; for this committee was created, and the members appointed, by the great officers of the army.

The parliament and the army had now separate interests, and separate views. Every person saw that there must soon be a stupendous issue; but of what kind none could tell.

Mr. Wesley, it appears, was undecided; but he was a man of a reflecting mind, careful to mark the workings of Providence; and when he saw that it was the pleasure of Providence to turn the order of things, i. e., to restore the monarchy in the family of the Stuarts, he quietly submitted, read the protestation, owning the king's supremacy; and cheerfully took the oath of allegiance. His indecision was no blot on his character; and his subsequent conduct much to his credit.

IV. Had we more particulars of the family of Mr. Bartholomew Wesley, we should, no doubt, find something peculiarly interesting relative to his son John, of whom we are speaking.

That he had a truly religious education, there can be no doubt; and from his own account to the bishop of Bristol it appears that he was devoted to the sacred service from his infancy, and educated in order thereto, both at school and at the university. And it was evident from the manner in which God wrought upon his mind, and the gifts and graces with which he had endued him, that he had accepted the gift which his parents had offered, and given him those qualifications for the work of the ministry which neither schools nor universities can supply, and which the imposition of the hands of

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the holiest bishop cannot confer. His conversation with the bishop shows that he possessed manly sense, unaffected piety, and religious knowledge, far beyond his years.

V. From this conversation we learn two important facts:—1. That he was a lay-preacher. 2. That he was an itinerant evangelist.

1. That he was not ordained, either by bishop or presbyters, by the imposition of hands, is fully evident. He had authority from GOD; this he conscientiously believed was sufficient, and he does not appear to have wished to have the authority of man superadded. However, he submitted all his own views and feelings to the examination and judgment of such persons as from their knowledge, piety, and experience, were capable of discerning the grace of God that was in him, and whether his talents were such as the people of God might profit by.

2. He went to proclaim Christ crucified wherever he had an invitation, and probably where he had none. It appears also that he had religious societies at several places; himself mentions Radpole, Melcomb, Turnwood, Whitchurch, and at sea. What he means by his converts at sea, I cannot learn; whether he served aboard the fleet, or whether he only occasionally visited the ships at Bridport, Weymouth, Lyme, Radpole, &c., I know not. From his own account we find that he exercised his ministry, both by sea and land, in what would be called an irregular way, without any kind of human ordination, as "a son of the prophets," to use his own words; nearly in the same way, from similar motives, and in reference to the same end, as those whom his grandson long afterwards associated with himself in the Christian ministry. Indeed we find in this man's conduct a kind of epitome of Methodism; his mode of

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preaching, matter, manner, and success, being most strikingly similar.

VI. Mr. Wesley tells the Bishop that he was appointed to preach at Whitchurch by the trustees, and approved by the triers.

A short notice of the men who were denominated Triers, and who are so frequently referred to in the ecclesiastical history of this period, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

"On the abolition of episcopacy in England," says a modern writer, "the approbation of all who entered upon the ministry, so as to enjoy ecclesiastical benefices, was claimed by the several presbyteries in London and the country. But when Cromwell gained the supreme authority, desirous of conciliating the favour of other religious bodies, and of checking the power of the presbyterians, who might be supposed to admit none but those of their own persuasion, he resolved to join the different parties together in judging of ministerial qualifications. Under his direction, therefore, a society of clergymen and others, belonging to the Presbyterian, the Independent, and the Baptist denominations, were appointed to sit at Whitehall under the name of *Triers*. The Independents formed the majority, and were the most active in the use of their delegated powers.* All candidates for holy orders, and all ministers who were presented to new livings in the church, were required to undergo a personal examination before these commissioners, and without their sanction none could be admitted." The "Ordinance † for the approbation of Publique

* Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 69.

† See Scobell's Collection, Part II., pp. 279, 280. This ordinance was confirmed, A. D. 1656.

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Preachers," investing the Triers with these formidable powers, bears the date of March 20th, 1653.

A curious and interesting satire on these persons will be found in a little scarce 12mo. work, printed in 1658, entitled, The examination of Tilenus before the Triers, in order to his intended settlement in the office of a public Preacher in the Commonwealth of Utopia. The chairman opens the meeting thus:—"The great prudence and piety of the governors of this commonwealth, considering how apt the people are to be influenced by the principles and example of their constant teachers, have been pleased, out of an ardent zeal to God's glory, and a tender care of men's precious souls, to think upon a course how their dominions may be made happy in the settlement of an able and godly ministry among them; for which purpose they have appointed commissioners to examine the gifts of all such as shall be employed in the office of public preaching."

The Triers then nominated were, Francis Rous, Esq., Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Dr. John Owen, Mr. Thankful Owen, Dr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Fuckney, Dr. Horton, Mr. Joseph Caryl, Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. William Carter, Mr. Sidrach Simpson, Mr. William Greenhill, Mr. William Strong, Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Samuel Slater, Mr. William Cooper, Mr. Stephen Marshal, Mr. John Tombes, Mr. Walter Cradock, Mr. Samuel Faircloth, Mr. Hugh Peters, Mr. Peter Sterry, Mr. Samuel Bamford, Mr. Thomas Valentine of Chaford, Mr. Henry Jessee, Mr. Obadiah Sedgewick, Mr. Nicholas Lockier, Mr. Daniel Dyke, Mr. James Russel, Mr. Nathaniel Campfield, Robert Tichborn, alderman of London, Mark Hildesley, Thomas Wood, John Sadles, William Goff, Thomas St. Nicholas, William Parker, and Edward Cresset, Esquires. Five of these thirty-eight to be a

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quorum: and the person to be examined by them must bring a testimonial, subscribed by the hands of three persons of known goodness and integrity, one of whom, at least, must be a preacher of the gospel in some constant settled place, of holy and good conversation, &c.

To such commissioners Mr. Wesley refers: and that they were generally Calvinists may be gathered from the fictitious names given to them in the above tract; viz., Dr. Absolute, Chairman; Mr. Fatalitie, Mr. Præterition, Mr. Fri-babe, Mr. Dam-man, Mr. Narrow-grace, *alias* Stint-grace, Mr. Efficax, Mr. Indefectible, Dr. Confidence, Mr. Dubious, Mr. Meanwell, Mr. Simulans, Mr. Take-o-trust, Mr. Know-little, and Mr. Impertinent. An abridgment of this trial was inserted by the late Mr. Wesley in the first volume of the Arminian Magazine.

I believe Tilenus intended by these names to characterize the leading men among the Calvinists in that age. Baxter's manner is especially manifest by the remarks he puts into the mouth of Mr. Dubious. Perhaps Dr. Absolute might be designed to represent Dr. Twiss, a zealous asserter of the supralapsarian doctrine, and who had taken a very active part in the changes then introduced; and who died a few years before the Tract was written.

At such times as these it was certainly necessary to examine those who were candidates for the sacred ministry; as, from the best accounts we learn, there were great numbers then in the church who had neither gifts nor grace for the work; and who were, besides, scandalous in their lives. It is a trite saying, but it is true, that "we must not argue against the use of a thing from its abuse."

VII. Mr. Wesley, in defending his call to the ministry, makes a distinction between the *vocatio ad opus*, "a

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call to the work," and *vocatio ad munus*, "a call to the office," of the ministry; and tells the Bishop that "he did not do office-work among the people, because they were not proper objects for office-work."

By this distinction, which, as I apprehend it, is of some importance, he must mean, and so the Bishop understood him, that the people who sat under his ministry, and were gathered from different parts, did not belong to any parish church, and were not as yet a consolidated society; that he had not instituted any code of discipline for their regulation; and probably did not administer the sacraments among them, especially the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He was called to preach to them, but not to preside over them; they were not as yet fit for such office-work. In this sense Mr. Baxter uses the term in his life and times.

It may not be thought unworthy of remark, that this was the plan followed by his grandson in respect to the lay preachers, so called, whom he associated with himself in that great work to which God had especially appointed him. He believed they all had from God himself the *vocatio ad opus*—an extraordinary call to the work of the ministry; but he did not believe that they all had the *vocatio ad munus*—the call to the office; and therefore he did not trust them to govern the societies, nor permit them to administer the sacraments. He kept the ecclesiastical government of all the societies in his own hands; appointed one preacher in each circuit, whom he called the assistant, i. e., one who assisted him in governing the societies; but he seldom suffered any of them to administer the sacraments unless they had been ordained by himself, or were clergymen of the Church of England. I need scarcely state here, that all the other preachers in the different circuits were

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called helpers, that is, they helped the *assistant* in his work in the circuit, as *he* assisted Mr. Wesley in his general government of the whole connexion.

VIII. Taking the *vocatio ad munus* in the above sense, it may be safely said that there are multitudes who appear to have the *vocatio ad opus*—the gift of preaching, with every qualification necessary to make that gift powerful and extensively useful, who at the same time have no gifts for church government, and consequently no *vocatio ad munus*, no call to that part of the work. Nor are any persons, to use the words of old Mr. Wesley, fit objects of office-work till they are truly awakened to a sense of their sin and danger; till they are gathered out of the world, and have solemnly determined to seek the salvation of their souls; abstaining from every appearance of evil, and using all the means of grace. This is the sum of the conditions on which, from the beginning until now, members have been admitted into the Methodist societies.

No people have ever made a wiser, more marked, and more salutary distinction between the *vocatio ad opus* and the *vocatio ad munus* than the Methodists have done. And to them GOD, in his great mercy, has NOW "given some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come, in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man; unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Eph. iv. 11—13.

It cannot escape the notice and reflection of the reader, that Methodism, in its grand principles of economy, and the means by which they have been brought into action, has had its specific, healthy, though slowly vegetating,

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seeds in the original members of the Wesley family. We have an additional proof of this,—

IX. In what Mr. Wesley tells the Bishop he considered a sufficient evidence of his call to the ministry. 1. Grace. 2. Gifts. 3. Fruit. To show that he had the two former, he offers to the Bishop to submit to any kind of trial or examination: and that he had fruit of his labours in every place where he had preached,—in the conversion of souls from gross ignorance and profaneness to the power of godliness, yea, the reality of religion, he strongly asserts; and offers to prove to the Bishop that those his converts had in and upon them, i. e., in their religious experience and outward conduct, all the evidences of grace which are enumerated in common-place books, or can be laid down from the Scriptures. And so confident was he of all these things, and consequently of his genuine call to the ministry, that he was willing to stand or fall by the proofs, and to be discharged from the ministry if these things were not so.

How exactly do all these things tally in reference to the Methodist discipline on this great point! No man is admitted to be a preacher among them, unless he be thus qualified and approved of God. Grace, gifts, and fruit are the grand requisites. Where these unequivocally meet in any person who offers himself to take a part in the great work to which God has called *them*, they without hesitation take for granted that the man is called of God. And it is because the ranks of the Methodist preachers continue to be filled up by such persons, and such only, that the great work is still carried on, and that their religious societies, constituted of such converts, are a blessing to the nation, and a praise in the earth.

Though Mr. Wesley was thus instrumental in con-

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verting the ignorant and profligate, and, consequently, in bettering the state of society, yet he was not permitted to proceed unmolested in his work. Luther somewhere observes, Evangelium prædicare est furorem mundi in se derivare, "He who faithfully preaches the gospel is sure to bring down the rage of the world upon himself." The laws of Christ condemn a vicious world, and gall it to revenge. As religion gives no quarter to vice, so the vicious will give no quarter to religion.

Mr. Wesley was not permitted to preach quietly at Whitchurch, even till ejected by the Act of Uniformity. In the beginning of the year 1661, he was seized upon the Lord's-day, as he was coming out of the church, and carried to Blandford, where he was committed to prison. After he had been some time confined, Sir Gerrard Napper, who had been the most furious of all his enemies, and the most forward in committing him, was so softened by a sad disaster he met with (the breaking of his collar-bone), that he applied to some persons to bail Mr. Wesley; and told them, that if they would not, he would do it himself. He was therefore set at liberty; but bound over to appear at the assizes, where he came off much better than he expected.

Hutchins, in his History of Dorset, vol. i., p. 117, seems to refer to this imprisonment, where he says, "By an order of the privy council, dated July 24, 1661, it was directed he should be discharged from his then imprisonment, upon taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. He was taken accordingly before a magistrate, who declined administering the oaths, but issued a warrant, dated July 29, 1661, directing him to be taken before the judges of the assizes and general gaol delivery, to be holden at Dorchester, the 1st of August following."

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He has recorded in his diary the particular mercy of God to him in raising up several friends to own him; inclining a solicitor to plead for him; and restraining the wrath of man, so that even the judge, though a very choleric man, spoke not one angry word. The sum of the proceedings, as it stands in his diary, is as follows:

Clerk. Call Mr. Wesley of Whitchurch.

Wesley. Here.

Clerk. You were indicted for not reading the Common Prayer. Will you traverse it?

A Solicitor. May it please your lordship, we desire this business may be deferred till next assizes.

Judge. Why till then?

Solicitor. Our witnesses are not ready at present.

Judge. Why not ready now? Why have you not prepared for a trial?

Solicitor. We thought our prosecutors would not appear.

Judge. Why so, young man? Why should you think so? Why did you not provide them?

Wesley. May it please your lordship, I understand not the question.

Judge. Why will you not read the Book of Common Prayer?

Wesley. The book was never tendered to me.

Judge. Must the book be tendered to you?

Wesley. So I conceive by the Act.

Judge. Are you ordained?

Wesley. I am ordained to preach the gospel.

Judge. From whom?

Wesley. I have given an account thereof already to the bishop.

Judge. What bishop?

Wesley. The bishop of Bristol.

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Judge. I say, by whom were you ordained? How long is it since?

Wesley. Four or five years since.

Judge. By whom then?

Wesley. By those who were then empowered.

Judge. I thought so. Have you a presentation to your place?

Wesley. I have.

Judge. From whom?

Wesley. May it please your lordship, it is a legal presentation.

Judge. By whom was it?

Wesley. By the trustees.

Judge. Have you brought it?

Wesley. I have not.

Judge. Why not?

Wesley. Because I did not think I should be asked any such questions here.

Judge. I would wish you to read the Common Prayer at your peril. You will not say, "From all sedition and privy conspiracy; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism,—Good Lord, deliver us!"

Clerk. Call Mr. Meech: [he was called and appeared.] Does Mr. Wesley read the Common Prayer yet?

Meech. May it please your lordship, he never did, nor he never will.

Judge. Friend, how do you know that? He may bethink himself.

Meech. He never did; he never will.

Solicitor. We will, when we see the new book, either read it, or leave our place at Bartholomew-tide.

Judge. Are you not bound to read the old book till then? Let us see the Act.

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While the judge was reading to himself, another cause was called; and Mr. Wesley was bound over to the next assizes. He came joyfully home, and preached constantly every Lord's-day till August 17, 1662, when he delivered his farewell sermon to a weeping audience, from Acts xx. 32: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and the word of his grace."

On the 26th of October the place was, by an apparitor, declared vacant, and orders were given to sequester the profits; but his people had already given him what was his due.

On the 22nd of February following he removed with his family to Melcomb; but the corporation made an order against his settlement there, imposing a fine of 20*l.* upon his landlady, and five shillings per week on himself, to be levied by distress!* He waited upon the mayor and some others, pleading that he had lived

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* "How the mayor and corporation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis accomplished this, will be mentioned below. Since the removal of Mr. Wesley, different men were put in power, and measures of another kind prevailed. Copies of communication from the government, acts of committees, and of the corporation, are preserved in two very large folio volumes, from which the writer is able to give extracts that have never thus seen the light before. The first is as follows:—

'Dorstt., Waymouth and Melcombe-regis.

'By the Comee: appointed for the well-governing and regulating of Corporations, assembled at Waymouth and Melcombe-regis, in the said county, the thirteenth day of October, 1662.

'Whereas we find upon examination, that James Geare, Gent., Alexr. Clatworthy, Gent., Richard Harrison, Gent., Henry Rose, Gent., ffabian Hodder, Gent., and John Hodder, were heretofore illegally or unduly removed out of their places of Aldermen and Burgesses of the said Borough; & that Samuel Cooke, Will. Bond, Stephen Abbott, John Senior, George Pley, & John Arthur, were illegally put into their said offices: Wee doe deeme it expediant

in the town formerly, and had given notice of his design of coming thither again. He also offered to give security, which was all that their order required. But all was in vain; for on the 11th of the following month

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for the publique safety, that the said Samuel Cooke, &c., be displaced & removed from their said respective offices and places of Aldermen and Burgesses of the said Borough, and by this our order, under our hands and seales, we doe displace and remove the said Samuel Cooke, &c., from their said office and places, and doe likewise by this our order, under our hands and seales, restore the said James Gear, Alexr. Clatworthy, Richd. Harrison, Henry Rose, ffabian Hodder, & John Hodder, &c.' Signed by Ger: Naper, R. Banks, and seven other magistrates.

"At the same time, an order was made by Sir Gerard Naper, R. Banks, and others, to remove, 'for the public safety,' John Eyres from the office of burgess; Henry Waltham, merchant, and five others, were displaced because they refused to take the following oath: 'I doe declare that there lyes noe obligation upon mee, or on any other pson, from ye oath commonly called the solemn league and covenant, and that the same was in itself an unlawfull oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom.' With these changes before us, and the recollection that persons approved by Sir Gerard Naper, &c., were called to fill the places of the aldermen and burgesses thus removed, we shall at once see the reason why good Mr. Wesley, who, but a few short years before, was so much respected in Weymouth, should, when driven from his parish, be refused even a lodging in this town, and why the corporation made an order against it.

"For this order against Mr. Wesley's settlement in Weymouth the writer has carefully sought, but the borough records do not, at least in distinct terms, as far as he can find, contain it; several facts are, however, discovered, which singularly synchronize with the diary, as given by Dr. Calamy. We find, before Mr. Wesley came to Weymouth, that he gave notice to the mayor of his intention to go thither to reside again; that on the 22nd of February, 1663, he removed from Whitchurch for Melcomb, a distance of twenty miles; that on his arrival, the corporation made an order

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(March) another order was drawn up for putting the former in execution.

These violent proceedings forced him out of the town; and he went to Ilminster, Bridgewater, and Taunton, in

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against his settlement in the town; the landlady who received him was fined twenty pounds, and five shillings per week was imposed on him, to be levied by distress. He waited on the mayor and some others, pleaded his having lived in the town some time formerly, and offered to give security, which was all that their order required; but all was of no avail; in the beginning of March another order was drawn up, for putting the former in execution.

"It is a fact worthy of notice, that the borough records do not mention any meeting of the corporation, in the early part of 1663, but of the dates which immediately follow:—

'Mr. Maior, 17 ffebruary, 1663,'

when reference was made to some John Dudley, who was bound to keep the peace of the borough.

'Mr. Maior Yardley, and Mr. Bailiff Clatworthy, 24 ffebr., 1663.'

This Mr. Bailiff Clatworthy is the person who was placed in the corporation by Sir Gerard Naper. The recorded business of this meeting is, that John Elborne, George Parry, Samuel Roberts, &c., were not to "dresse, sell, or utter any flesh during the tyme of this present Lent." Singular as it may appear in the present day, an office for granting licenses to eat flesh in any part of England, was opened in St. Paul's Church Yard, and advertised in the public papers so lately as anno 1663.—*Wilson's De Foe*, vol. i., p. 43.

'Mr. Maior Yardley, 1 Martii, 1663.'

When an entry is made in reference to some one of the name of John, apparently it is John fferry. The entry is in Latin, and singularly abbreviated. 20, and the following words, 'quod Johes ad XX pacis com. Dorstt.," with some distinctness appear. A widow was presented at the sessions held at Weymouth, the 21st of September, 1663. What her crime then was is not very apparent; but in a previous entry the following charge may be found: 'quia non negavit virum intr. domum suam,'—because she had not refused admittance to some unnamed person into her house.

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all which places he met with great kindness and friendship from the three denominations of dissenters, and was almost every day employed in preaching in those several places; where he also got some good acquaintance and friends, who were afterwards very kind to him and his numerous family.

At length a gentleman, who had a very good house at Preston, near Weymouth, two or three miles from Melcomb,* permitted him to live in it without paying any

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Another singular entry soon follows: 'At a hall held on ffryday, the XXVI. day of August, 1664. This day the ffyne set on Joan Baily, widow, in Waymouth, late of XX£. for a comon nusante by her there comttd, is by a generall consent of the Maior, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Comnlty present, reduced to three pounds ffyne, to be paid, XXs. at Michas. next, and XXs. quarterly, till it be payd to Mr. Treasurer for the time being.' Whatever this nuisance was, there is a very observable distinctness in noticing the consent of every party, namely, the Mayor, Aldermen, Burgesses, and Commonalty, to the remission of a great part of the fine, as if the act were of some importance; and if objections or complaint should be made from any quarter, no one part of the corporation could have any plea against the other, for what had been done.

"These documents are copied to show that the corporation did meet about the time (and only then, in the early part of 1663, as far as these records afford evidence) when, it may be presumed, Mr. Wesley gave notice of his intention, namely, a week before his removal; the second meeting was held when he had resided one day in Weymouth; the third in March, as stated in his diary; the latter says the 11th of March. In the borough records, the date appears to be 1 Martii; the entries are singular; they refer to some acts which took place at the time he came to and retired from Weymouth: it will not be affirmed that they either refer to him, or to the widow, his landlady, who was fined twenty pounds for her act of hospitality to a persecuted and injured outcast. The reader will observe the dates, names, and circumstances, and form his own opinion thereon."—*Beal's "Fathers."*

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rent. Thither he removed his family in the beginning of May, 1663; and there he continued while he lived, excepting a temporary absence shortly to be noticed. He records his coming to Preston, and his comfortable accommodation there, with great admiration and thankfulness to God.

We must now follow him in his further projects and designs.

When the great Head of the church calls a man to preach the gospel, he in effect says, "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." He never confines his own gift and call absolutely to any particular place, but leaves them under the direction and management of his own providence. The call of God to preach is a missionary call; and they who have it know that they are not their own, and must do the Master's work in the Master's own way, place, and time. Hence all the ministers of his gospel have a missionary spirit; let providence direct, as it chooses, their way.

It is worthy of remark, that this excellent man, like his grandson long after him, felt a strong desire to visit the continent of America. Surinam, a settlement of South America, in Guiana, was the first object in the contemplation of his missionary zeal.

This settlement was visited in 1579 by Sir Walter Raleigh, but not colonized. In 1634 David Piterse de Vries, a Dutchman, found there a Captain Marshal, with about sixty English. In 1650, Francis Lord Willoughby, of Parham, by permission of Charles II., sent thither some vessels to take possession of the settlement in the name of his royal master; and in 1662, this set-

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* Commonly called Melcomb-Regis, to distinguish it from a small parish in the centre of the county.

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tlement was granted by Charles to Lord Willoughby and Lawrence Hyde, second son of the Earl of Clarendon, to them and their descendants for ever.

Mr. Wesley no doubt thought that the desolate state of this colony, in respect to spiritual things, might afford a fair and undisturbed field of usefulness. This purpose, however, was abandoned; as was also another of going to Maryland. The advice of friends prevailed; and probably the difficulty and expense of removing a numerous family so far were the chief impediments. Indeed, such a removal, in his circumstances, must have been all but impossible. He therefore made up his mind to abide in the land of his nativity; to be at the disposal of Divine Providence, relying on the promise, "Verily, thou shalt be fed."

Being often out of employ, and not willing to be without public worship, he would gladly have attended the church service: but there were several things in the Liturgy to which he could not give a conscientious assent. However, by reading Mr. Philip Nye's "Arguments for the Lawfulness of hearing Ministers of the Church of England," his scruples were so far removed that he found he could do it with a safe conscience; and doubtless to his edification.

At this same time Mr. Wesley was not a little troubled about his own preaching; whether it should be carried on openly, or in private. Some of the neighbouring ministers, particularly Messrs. Bamfield, Ince, Hallet of Shaston, and John Sacheverel, were for preaching publicly, with open doors. But Mr. Wesley thought it was his duty to beware of men; and that he was bound in prudence to keep himself at liberty as long as he could. Accordingly, by preaching only in private, he was kept longer out of the hands of his enemies

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than the ministers above mentioned, all of whom were indicted at the next assizes "for a riotous and unlawful assembly held at Shaston; and were found guilty by a jury of gentlemen, fined forty marks each, and were bound to find security for their good behaviour;" or, in other words, that they would not speak any more in the blessed name of Jesus, but be unfaithful to their heavenly calling, and permit the devil, unmolested, to destroy the souls of the people.

Burnett, in his history, mentions Mr. Sacheverel and himself being imprisoned together in Dorchester gaol; during which time, they took it by turns to preach out of a window, to a considerable number of people, that stood to hear on the other side of the river. The latter of these excellent men was grandfather to the famous Dr. Henry Sacheverel. During the three years he remained in confinement, he contracted such an indisposition, that, from a very cheerful active person, he became melancholy, and soon ended his days. He died in his chair, speaking to those about him, with much affection, of the great work of redemption. He wrote on the title-page of all his books, "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain;" and this text was in consequence engraved on his tomb-stone.

The stopping of the mouths of these faithful men was a general curse to the nation. A torrent of iniquity, deep, rapid, and strong, deluged the whole land, and swept away godliness and vital religion from the kingdom. The king had no religion, either in power or in form, though a papist in his heart. He was the most worthless that ever sat on the British throne, and profligate beyond all measure; without a single good quality to redeem his numerous bad ones: and the church and the state joined hand in hand in persecution and in-

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tolerance. Since those barbarous and iniquitous times, what hath God wrought!

There was now no open vision, and the pure word of the Lord was scarce in those days. Most of the faithful of the land were either silenced as to public preaching, or shut up in prison; and the rest were hidden in corners. Mr. Wesley, in a private manner, preached frequently to a few good people at Preston, a small village three miles from Weymouth, and occasionally at Weymouth itself, and other places contiguous. After some time he had a call from a number of serious Christians at Poole to become their pastor. He consented; and continued with them while he lived, administering to them all the ordinances of God as opportunity offered.

In the parliament held at Oxford (17 Car. II., 1665), a severe act was passed against the dissenting teachers, prohibiting them from dwelling or coming (except in travelling, &c.) within five miles of any corporation or borough town, or any other place where they had been ministers, or preached after the act of oblivion, on the penalty of forty pounds for each offence; unless they first took the following oath:—

> "I, A. B., do solemnly declare that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king; and that I do abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission. And I do swear that I will not, at any time to come, endeavour the alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me, God."

Archbishop Sheldon, and Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, were the chief promoters of this Act. When it came out, those ministers who had any property of their own

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retired to obscure villages, or to market-towns that were not corporations; and some, who had nothing, were obliged to leave their wives and children, and hide themselves in distant places, sometimes coming secretly to them after night.

Poole being a corporation town, to avoid coming under the five mile Act, Mr. Wesley resided in Preston, and exercised his ministry in Poole; but oftentimes he was obliged to leave his wife, his family, and his flock, and secrete himself, like others, in various places. He could not conscientiously take the above oath, because of the last clause, "I do swear that I will not, at any time to come, endeavour the alteration of the Government, either in Church or State."

All the Dissenters had strenuously endeavoured to alter the government in the church, or rather to reform it; as they considered several parts as savouring of superstition, and tending to Popery; and on this the dissent of many of them was founded. Everything they might say against those points of Popery which seemed countenanced in any part of the liturgy might be considered by their adversaries as an endeavouring to alter the government of the church, and consequently expose them to prosecution, persecution, and the alleged infamy of perjury.

Under the date of 1666, Mr. Wesley entered in his diary, in the month of March, on reaching the place of his retirement, "What dost thou here, at such a distance from church, wife, children, &c.?" and then penned some of the reasons why he could not safely take this oath; particularly, that to do it in his own private sense would be juggling with God, with the king, and with conscience; especially as some magistrates had declared they had no right to admit of such a private sense. He was therefore obliged to leave home for a considerable

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time. He at length ventured to return to his family and flock: but, notwithstanding all the prudent precaution with which he conducted his meetings, he was often disturbed, several times apprehended, and four times imprisoned; once at Poole for six months, and once at Dorchester for three months. The other confinements were shorter: but how long their duration was we are not told.*

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* The borough records thus refer to the conventicle meetings.

"Dorstt. Waymouth and Melcombe Regis:—Bee it remembered, that on the ninth day of July, Anno Dmi. 1665, Matthew Pitt, James Budd, Barthw. Beere, Robert Dun, Henry Dunbar, Robert Roberts, Thos. Woodrow, John Owner, the elder, John Tucker, and Thos. Randall, all of Melcombe-regis aforesaid, and William Markett of Broadmayne, being all of them of the age of fifteen years and upwards, were present at an assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colr or pretence of some servisse of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England, in the dwelling-house of Henry Saunders, within the corporation aforesaid, mariner, where there were more than the before-named persons assembled together, over and above those of the same household, contrary to an act of Parliament, intituled, An Act to prevent seditious conventicles, of which said conventicle they were all convicted; witness the hands and seales of

"Theo. Byett, Maior; Richd. Scovill, and
"Christr. Collier, Bailiffs."

On the sixteenth of July, 1665, "Dorothy White, Spinster; Erasmus Browne, John Sadler, Humfry Bennett, Benjamin Slowman, and Dorothy Saunders, the wife of Henry Saunders, mariner, all of Waymouth and Melcombe-regis; were convicted of holding a conventicle at the house of Henry Saunders;" and which conviction is given at length, in the form above, and before the same mayor and bailiffs.

On the third day of June, 1666, Elizth. Cross, of Melcombe-regis and thirty-five others, were, on the oaths of Jonathan Edwards and Henry Brettyent, convicted of being at a conventicle in the house of Henry Saunders, mariner, of Melcombe-regis; some

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Dr. Calamy adds, "that he was in many straits and difficulties, but was wonderfully supported and comforted, and was many times very seasonably and surprisingly relieved and delivered. Nevertheless, the removal of many eminent Christians into another world, who had been his intimate acquaintance and kind friends, the great decay of serious religion among many professors, and the increasing rage of the enemies of real godliness, manifestly seized on and sunk his spirits. At length, 'having filled up his part of what is behind of

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of whom were fined, and others imprisoned, some for six weeks, and others for three months and a day, in the town gaol, by order of

"Benjn. Gaitch, Maior; and
Nath. Abbott, Bailiff."

Elzth. Crosse, Katherine Barker, Henry Dumberfield, James Budd, Elizth Randall, Katherine Wall, Elizth ffoyle, Rebecca Senior, Matthew Pitt, Alice Locke, John Chines, Katherine Batchelor, Mary Chines, Alice Roberts, Edith Woodrow, ffrances Markett, Hugh Piercy, Dorothy Saunders, Sarah Harvey, Martha Maker, Edward Tucker, John Wilson, Richard Harvest, Erasmus Browne, John Owner, Richard Tucker, ffrancis Dumberfield, of Cerne, Mary Roberts, Hannah Bower, of Dorchester, Hester Stowill, Hannah Senior, P. Kinglake, Susannah Senior, Sarah Wilson, Jane Hammill, and Dorothy King."

"We have committed to the town gaol, there to remaine by the space of as followeth; that is to say, the said Matthew Pitt, James Budd, Henry Dumberfield, and Dorothy Saunders, by the space of three months and one day next ensuing, it being the second offence of which they stand convicted. And the aforesaid John Owner and Mary Roberts, by the space of six weeks and one day next ensuing; it being the first offence of which they stand convicted. Those who paid the ffynes we have discharged.

"Witnesse our handes and seales, this sixth day of June, 1666.

"Benjamin Gaitch, Maior,
Nath. Abbott, Bailiff."

These were the days, events, and sufferings of the elder Wesleys.

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the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church, and finished the work given him to do,' he was taken out of this vale of tears to that world where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest; when he had not been much longer an inhabitant here below than his blessed Master was, whom he served with his whole heart, according to the best light he had."—*Noncon. Memor.*, Vol. II., p. 164, &c.

It appears that application was made to have him buried in the church at Preston; but the vicar would not suffer it.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Calamy, who had the journal of this excellent man, gives so few dates, and particularly in those places where they were especially needful. He neither mentions the year of his birth, nor that of his death. He tells us only, "that he began preaching when he was twenty-two, and in May, 1658, was sent to preach at Whitchurch." Now, if this means May of the year 1658, in which he was twenty-two years of age, then he must have been born about A. D., 1636.

Dr. Whitehead, who gives an abstract of Dr. Calamy's account of this good man, concludes it with the following reflections: "1. Mr. Wesley appears to have made himself master of the controverted points in which he differed from the established church, and to have made up his opinions from a conviction of their truth. 2. He shows an ingenuous mind, free from low cunning, in the open avowal of his sentiments to the bishop. 3. He appears to have been remarkably conscientious in all his conduct, and a zealous promoter of genuine piety both in himself and others. 4. He discovered great firmness of mind, and an unshaken attachment to his principles, in the midst of the most unchristian persecution, and

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a train of accumulated evils which he suffered on that account.

"These are prominent features in his character which we cannot but admire, however we may differ from him in opinion: they show a mind elevated far above the common level, even of those who have had the advantages of an academical education."

There is a very fine painting of this excellent man now in the possession of Mr. Cropp, of Vincent Square, Westminster. On the back of the painting is the following inscription: "Copied from the back of this portrait before it was restored—'John Wesley, A. M., of New Inn Hall, Oxford, Grandfather to the late celebrated Mr. J. Wesley, ejected for Nonconformity.'" The following paragraph, which appeared in the *Times* newspaper of Dec. 16, 1829, seems to refer also to John Wesley, of Whitchurch.

"There is now in the possession of a gentleman at Manchester an old Bible, in good condition, which contains about a thousand copper-plate engravings, and maps of all the ancient places mentioned in Scripture; as also the Apocrypha, and the Psalms of David in metre. This Bible formerly belonged to the grandfather of John Wesley. It also belonged to his father. It was in the house when it was on fire, but was saved from the conquering element, and handed down to the present possessor as a valuable relic."

Mrs. Wesley long survived her husband; but how long we cannot exactly tell. In a letter of Mr. Samuel Wesley, Jun., in 1710, he speaks of having "visited his grandmother Wesley, then a widow of almost forty-eight years." So long as this she could not have been a widow, agreeably to the dates of other documents, unless the letter had been written subsequent to 1710, and an error

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thus made in transcribing the original. Mr. John Wesley, her husband, must have died about 1678, and not, as Dr. Whitehead and others conclude, in 1670; for Mr. Samuel Wesley says (in his letter printed in 1703, which will be hereafter noticed), "My father dying early, while I was at a country school, and almost fit for the university, I was sent to London, March 8, 1678." Mr. Wesley at this time was about twelve years old, and continued a year longer at a grammar-school before he entered the dissenting academies, "where he remained about four years, and was entered at Exeter College Aug. 1683, being then between sixteen and seventeen years of age. If we date his father's birth 1636, and his own birth 1666, he would thus be about seventeen years of age at the period alluded to; his father dying about the forty-second year of his age, which, supposing the grandson's letter not to be at a date subsequent to 1710, will still allow a period of thirty-two years for a state of widowhood. This, too, comports better with the account handed down respecting his "*numerous family*," which scarcely harmonizes with his dying at the age of thirty-four, the period partly fixed by Dr. Calamy, who, as has been observed, says, "He was taken out of this vale of tears when he had not been much longer an inhabitant here below than his blessed Lord and Master was."

It does not appear that this venerable widow had any help from her own family; and there is reason to believe that she was entirely dependant on and supported by her sons Matthew and Samuel. How far the former may have contributed to her support it is not easy to say; but that she was deeply indebted to the latter I learn from one of his letters to Archbishop Sharpe, dated Epworth, December 30, 1700.

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"The next year my barn fell, which cost me forty pounds in rebuilding (thanks to your Grace for a part of it); and having an aged mother (who must have gone to prison if I had not assisted her), she cost me upwards of forty pounds more. Ten pounds a-year I allow my mother to keep her from starving."

How doleful was the lot of this poor woman! persecuted with her husband during the whole of her married life, and abandoned to poverty during a long and dreary widowhood.

MATTHEW WESLEY, SURGEON.

We have already seen that the Rev. John Wesley, ejected from the vicarage of Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire, of whom I have lately spoken, is said to have had a numerous family. But the names of Matthew and Samuel only are come down to us. Whether the others died young, or survived their father, we are not informed: but it is most likely that the rest died in infancy, as not even the name of any of them is ever mentioned.

Matthew, after the example of his grandfather Bartholomew, studied physic, and settled in London; after having travelled over the greatest part of Europe for his improvement. He is reported to have been eminent and singularly useful, and is said to have made a large fortune by his medical practice.

It is not likely that his father could have given him an academic education. But as he taught a school for the support of his family, for which he appears to have been well qualified, no doubt his sons, particularly Matthew, who was the eldest, had the rudiments of a classical education from himself, as he was at the death of his father probably about fourteen or fifteen years of age. And it is very likely that he might have obtained addi-

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tional instruction at the free-school in Dorchester, and in some of the dissenting academies, as we know his brother Samuel did.*

Though Matthew be generally styled a physician, yet we do not know that he ever graduated, or studied in any university, unless it were in a foreign one; and this is not improbable, as, from a passage in the following letter from Mrs. Wesley, it appears that Mr. M. Wesley had tried all the spas in Europe, both in Germany and elsewhere. Former times were not so nice in distinctions as the present: surgeons, apothecaries, and medical practitioners of all sorts, were generally termed physicians or doctors: the latter was the most usual title; and this Matthew Wesley might have had by common courtesy, or he might have had it by right. But it is most likely that he had it by courtesy, as he is not styled *physician, M. D.*, nor even *doctor*, in the verses addressed to his memory by the person who signs himself *Sylvius*, in the very year in which he died. Besides, he is not termed *doctor* in any of the family letters which have come under my notice. This at present is a matter of little

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* There is some reason to believe he was a member of the Athenian Society, and that Eldon in his history of that society refers to him, when, in describing its members, he says, "I cannot pass over the physician, whom he calls a *learned, good,* and *ingenious* man, and so generous, that he could never be prevailed with to admit of any other consideration for his trouble in this affair, than the good of the public. Yet he is far from condemning those whose circumstances will not allow them to imitate him in this generosity, since it is as lawful for a man to live by his pen, as any other way." Dunton, in the advertisement to the 13th No. of his Gazette, seems also to allude to him, in saying, "We have now taken into our Society a civilian, a doctor of physic, and a chirurgian."

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consequence, and cannot now be determined. The whole family of the Wesleys were blessed with a genius that surmounted all difficulties: opposition and unfavourable circumstances only served as a stimulus to industry and enterprise; and they ever rose the higher in proportion to the causes which tended to depress them. This is the grand characteristic of all the branches of this family with whom we are acquainted; and we may safely infer it was the case with the rest.

Mr. M. Wesley resided and practised chiefly in London. In the year 1731 he visited his brother's family at Epworth. This visit is described by Mrs. Wesley in a letter to her son John, who was then at Oxford; and as it contains some curious particulars, I shall lay it before the reader.

"My brother Wesley had designed to have surprised us, and had travelled under a feigned name from London to Gainsborough: but there, sending his man out for a guide into the Isle the next day, the man told one that keeps our market his master's name, and that he was going to see his brother, which was minister of Epworth. The man he informed met with Molly in the market about an hour before my brother got thither. She, full of the news, hastened home, and told us her uncle Wesley was coming to see us; but we could hardly believe her. 'Twas odd to observe how all the town took the alarm, and were upon the gaze, as if some great prince had been about to make his entry. He rode directly to John Dawson's (the inn); but we had soon notice of his arrival, and sent John Brown with an invitation to our house. He expressed some displeasure at his servant for letting us know of his coming; for he intended to have sent for Mr. Wesley to dine with him at Dawson's, and then come to visit us in the afternoon.

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However, he soon followed John home, where we were all ready to receive him with great satisfaction.

"His behaviour among us was perfectly civil and obliging. He spake little to the children the first day, being employed (as he afterwards told them) in observing their carriage, and seeing how he liked them; afterwards he was very free, and expressed great kindness to them all.

"He was strangely scandalized at the poverty of our furniture, and much more at the meanness of the children's habit. He always talked more freely with your sisters of our circumstances than to me; and told them he wondered what his brother had done with his income, for 'twas visible he had not spent it in furnishing his house or clothing his family.

"We had a little talk together sometimes, but it was not often we could hold a private conference; and he was very shy of speaking any thing relating to the children before your father, or indeed of any other matter. I informed him, as far as I handsomely could, of our losses, &c., for I was afraid that he should think I was about to beg of him: but the girls (with whom he had many private discourses), I believe, told him every thing they could think on.

"He was particularly pleased with Patty; and one morning, before Mr. Wesley came down, he asked me if I was willing to let Patty go and stay a year or two with him at London. 'Sister,' says he, 'I have endeavoured already to make one of your children easy while she lives; and if you please to trust Patty with me, I will endeavour to make her so too.' Whatever others may think, I thought this a generous offer; and the more so, because he had done so much for Sukey and Hetty. I expressed my gratitude as well as I could; and would have had him speak to your father, but he

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would not himself, he left that to me; nor did he ever mention it to Mr. Wesley till the evening before he left us.

"He always behaved himself very decently at family prayers, and in your father's absence said grace for us before and after meat. Nor did he ever interrupt our privacy; but went into his own chamber when we went into ours.

"He staid from Thursday to the Wednesday after; then he left us to go to Scarborough; from whence he returned the Saturday se'nnight after, intending to stay with us a few days; but finding your sisters gone the day before to Lincoln, he would leave us on Sunday morning, for he said he might see the girls before they set forward for London. He overtook them at Lincoln; and had Mrs. Taylor, Emily, Kezzy, with the rest, to supper with him at the Angel. On Monday they breakfasted with him; then they parted, expecting to see him no more till they came to London: but on Wednesday he sent his man to invite them to supper at night. On Thursday he invited them to dinner, at night to supper, and on Friday morning to breakfast; when he took his leave of them, and rode for London. They got into town on Saturday about noon; and that evening Patty writ me an account of her journey.

"Before Mr. Wesley went to Scarborough I informed him of what I knew of Mr. Morgan's* case. When he came back he told me that 'he had tried the spa at Scarborough, and could assure me that it far excelled all the spas in Europe, for he had been at them all, both in Germany and elsewhere; that at Scarborough there were

* One of Mr. John Wesley's early associates, who died the following year (Sept., 1732).

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two springs, as he was informed, close together, which flowed into one bason; the one a chalybeate, the other a purging water; and he did not believe there was the like in any part of the world.' Says he, 'If that gentleman you told me of could by any means be gotten thither, though his age is the most dangerous time in life for his distemper, yet I am of opinion those waters would cure him.' I thought good to tell you this, that you might, if you please, inform Mr. Morgan of it.

"Dear Jackey, I can't stay now to talk about Hetty and Patty; but this—I hope better of both than some others do. I pray God to bless you. Adieu.

"July 12, 1731. "S. W."

There does not appear to have been much intimacy between Matthew Wesley and his brother Samuel. Though Mr. Matthew Wesley was no zealot, yet the religious change of his brother did not, I am led to think, please him; and hence a distance was naturally occasioned between the two brothers. Mr. Matthew Wesley was also a careful economist, got his wealth with difficulty, and knowing little of the troubles of a family, could ill judge of domestic expenses upon a large scale.

It was most probably just after the visit mentioned above that he wrote a severe and caustic letter to his brother, accusing him of bad economy, and of not making provision for his large family; and indirectly blaming him for having become a married man.

This severe letter Mr. S. Wesley answers in a sort of serio-jocose style, and amply vindicates the whole of his conduct against what he calls the imputation of his ill husbandry.

Of the letter of Mr. Matthew only an extract remains in the hand-writing of his brother Samuel. I shall give

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it here, and refer the reader for Mr. S. Wesley's defence to the memoirs which I have collected of his life. The letter, which is without date, begins thus:—

"The same record which assures us an infidel cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, also asserts in the consequence that a worse than an infidel can never do it. It likewise describes the character of such an one: 'He provides not for his own, especially those of his own house.'

"You have a numerous offspring; you have had a long time a plentiful estate; great and generous benefactions; and have made no provision for those of your own house, who can have nothing in view at your exit but distress. This I think a black account; let the cause be folly, or vanity, or ungovernable appetites. I hope Providence has restored you again to give you time to settle this balance, which shocks me to think of. To this end I must advise you to be frequent in your perusal of Father Beveridge on repentance, and Dr. Tillotson on restitution; for it is not saying Lord, Lord, will bring us to the kingdom of heaven, but doing justice to all our fellow-creatures; and not a poetical imagination that we do so. A serious consideration of these things, and suitable actions, I doubt not, will qualify you to meet me where sorrow shall be no more, which is the highest hope and expectation of yours, &c."

This language is too severe, even had the occasion generally justified the critique. Had Mr. S. Wesley acted according to the suggestions of his brother Matthew, John and Charles Wesley had probably never been born: and who can say that the great light which they were the instruments in the hand of God of pouring out upon the land, and spreading among the nations of the earth, had ever been diffused by any other means?

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The straits and difficulties of the other branch of this family were circumstances which, in the order of God, helped to turn the minds of those eminent reformers to that economy and discipline which in process of time they introduced into the Methodist societies, for which those societies are remarkable, and by which they are distinguished to the present day.

Men should be aware how they arraign the dispensations and ordinances of Divine Providence. It is not good for man to be alone; therefore God instituted marriage. He who marries does well; and it is only in the case of a general persecution of the church that he who does not marry does better.

Surgeon Wesley is extinct. Samuel, his brother, still lives in his natural and spiritual progeny. God has crowned him with honour; and it is with difficulty that the name of his brother has been rescued from oblivion.

Mr. M. Wesley was, however, a good and excellent man in his way; but appears to have been little acquainted with the heart, the feelings, the joys, and sorrows of a parent.

We know more of the character of Surgeon Wesley from some lines to his memory written by Mrs. Wright, than from any other source.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1737, p. 248, she writes, under the assumed name of *Sylvius*, some lines on her uncle's recovery from sickness. His restoration, however, was apparently enjoyed but for a short period, since the number for June contains another poetical tribute to his memory, which was in all probability published immediately on his demise. The first tributary piece is the following:—

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ON RECOVERY FROM ILLNESS.

" Deprest with pains unfelt before,
My muse her wonted strain forbore ;
Sad melancholy seized my mind,
To books or converse disinclined,
And dark ideas filled my brain
Of chronic ills, and years of pain ;
Whatever image pictures life
Of grief expressive, pain and strife ;
A journey through a dreary way,
A gloomy sky, a stormy day,
A voyage through impetuous waves,
Where Scylla barks, Charybdis raves,
Where ambushed rocks, and quicksands wait
And every billow threatens fate ;
These, uninvited, crowd my thought,
A region all with vapours fraught.
Yet still, amidst this anxious care,
I bar my bosom from despair,
Solicit Patience, heavenly guest,
To fortify my feeble breast.
She, welcome friend, with lenient art,
Can lessen pain, and ease impart ;
Or with her lore the soul incline
To bear distress, and not repine ;
When Providence this power bestowed,
He lightened half our penal load
At her approach, my throbs decrease,
My mental tumult sinks to peace.
Nor long my absent health I mourned,
The rosy goddess soon returned,
My wasted strength again supplies,
And bids my drooping spirits rise.
Be first my thankful tribute given
To thy dispose, all-grateful Heaven !
Thy providential care ordains
My share of pleasures and of pains.
'Tis thine, that first I drew my breath,
Thine are the issues, too, from death,

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Nor be the due returns withheld
To Wesley, sage, in medicine skilled;
Whose kindly draughts our pains assuage,
And make diseases cease to rage,
As heaven was pleased by him to save,
And disappoint the gaping grave.
Ungrateful! worthless! were my lays,
Should I forget Urbanus' praise;
'Twas owing to his friendly care
I breathed at ease the rural air,
Her ample bounds where Reading spreads,
Where Kennet winds along the meads,
Where Thomson the retreat approves,
By streams refreshed, and gloomed with groves,
Where, from Cadogan's lofty seat,
Our view surrounding landscapes greet.
'Twas there he made my leisure blest,
There waked the muse within my breast,
While his improving converse joined
At once both cheered and raised my mind."

Sylvius.

Gentleman's Magazine, 1737, p. 248.

For further notices of the Wesleys, and Sylvius, see Gentleman's Magazine, 1735, pp. 215, 332, 379, 551, 559; 1736, pp. 155, 740; 1737, pp. 179, 307, 318, 374; 1785, p. 758, &c.

From the lines on his death, particularly, we learn that he was a man of a truly benevolent mind; had much learning and information; greatly excelled in his own profession, particularly in all feminine cases; was a good judge and lover of poetry; was useful to his brother Samuel's large family; was the particular patron, friend, and support of his niece Mehetabel; and that he was adorned with every art and grace, and saved from the fear of death. He breathed his last, leaning on her bosom, some time, as has been intimated, in the year 1737.

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I shall insert also the verses on his death, so honourable both to the uncle and his niece. They are written in the purest spirit of poetry, friendship, and feeling; and appeared first in the *Christian Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 284. Clio is her assumed poetic name; Varro that of her uncle:—

How can the muse attempt the string,
Forsaken by her guardian power?
Ah me! that she survives to sing
Her friend and patron now no more!
Yet private grief she might suppress,
Since Clio bears no selfish mind;
But oh! she mourns, to wild excess,
The friend and patron of mankind.
Alas! the sovereign healing art,
Which rescued thousands from the grave,
Unaided left the gentlest heart,
Nor could its skilful master save.
Who shall the helpless sex sustain,
Now Varro's lenient hand is gone,
Which knew so well to soften pain,
And ward all dangers but its own?
His darling muse, his Clio dear,
Whom first his favour raised to fame;
His gentle voice vouchsafed to cheer,
His art upheld her tender frame:
Pale envy durst not show her teeth,
Above contempt she gaily shone,
Chief favourite! till the hand of death
Endangered both, by striking one.
Perceiving well, devoid of fear,
His latest fatal conflict nigh;
Reclined on her he held most dear,
Whose breast received his parting sigh:
With every art and grace adorned,
By man admired, by heaven approved—
Good Varro died—applauded, mourned,
And honoured by the Muse he loved.

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In the last line Mrs. Wright seems to refer to some verses on the death of her uncle written by other hands.

I have met with one copy, which was published in June, 1737, in vol. vii. of the Gentleman's Magazine. And as that work is scarce, and the verses known to few persons, I shall insert them too, as a testimony to the worth of a man who appears from all accounts to have been learned, skilful, humane, modest, and vious.

VERSES ON THE DEATH OF MR. MATTHEW WESLEY.

When vulgar funerals trail their pomp along,
We idly stand amidst the gazing throng.
Perhaps such trite reflections rise: "Alas!
"How weak the human frame! all flesh is grass!
"A bubble frail! a shade that swiftly flies!
"A flower that opes at morn, at evening dies!"
No farther we the serious thought pursue,
Than the slight inference, "We must follow too!"
But if the final, fatal hour remove
To Death's black shades a relative we love,
Or chosen friend, in pressures fully tried,
A faithful guardian, counsellor, and guide;
More awful thoughts are by the stroke imprest,
And the wise aims of Providence confest.
"Can righteous Heaven" (thus right we argue then)
"Regardless view such signal worth in men?
"Their virtue and their piety disown?
"And shall they be to dark oblivion thrown?
"O no! most truly Scripture strains attest,
"For such remains an everlasting rest."
Undoubted in the sacred books appears
A future state assigned through endless years.
And still we find to what these lights reveal
Our calm unbiassed reason sets her seal.
As here the sun, with his prolific rays,
The blooms and verdures of the globe displays;

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So GOD, the sun that heavenly region gilds,
Spreads endless riches o'er its blissful fields.
And surely as that Sun shall ever shine,
Those endless treasures, Wesley, all are thine!
Whate'er with lavish fancy poets feign
Of bowery scenes and an Elysian plain,
Where everlasting zephyrs waft perfume,
Fruits ever ripen, flowers for ever bloom;
Those fruits and flowers, which on the borders grow
Of living streams, where waves of nectar flow
Where happy guests on rosy beds recline,
And press from heavenly grapes immortal wine;
Whate'er the surer Scripture-page displays
Of golden wreaths, inchased with starry rays,
Which crown the blest; the shining robes they wear,
The shouts they utter, and the palms they bear,
The angel-songs which swell the concert high,
And all the immortal music of the sky;—
These strong, these bright ideas are too faint
The joys ineffable of heaven to paint.
Thus, while thy drooping friends surround thy urn,
We meditate thy bliss, and cease to mourn;
Recite the virtues of thy life below,
Till we with zealous emulation glow;
Resolve like thine our future life to frame;
To make each social, useful grace our aim;
To propagate true knowledge, void of guile;
To combat craft, whose schemes the truth defile;
To cheer the afflicted, the depressed to raise,
And modest worth to fortify with praise.
'Twas thus, if small to match with great we dare,
A mortal's virtue with a GOD's compare;
'Twas thus the Saviour of the world exprest
The Life Divine, in human semblance drest;
Spotless in act, unwearied ill to chase,
And arduous for the weal of human race.

SYLVIUS.

We shall meet with this author again, when we come to the account of Mrs. Wright, the Clio of her uncle

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Matthew. I cannot find that Mr. Matthew Wesley left any papers behind him. He must have died when far advanced in life. It appears that his father was a married man, and had a family in 1662; and it is probable that Matthew, who was his eldest son, might have been born about the year 1662, or 1664; and as the verses on his death were inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the month of June, 1737, in which year he certainly died, he must have been, at his death, about seventy-eight or seventy-nine years of age.

I have before supposed that both he and his brother Samuel might have had the rudiments of a classical education from their father, though they were both comparatively young at the time of his death.* But there was such an aptitude to learn, and such a power of comprehension in all the Wesley family, that at ten or twelve years of age they had acquired as much as most others have done when they have arrived at sixteen. We shall meet proofs of this as we proceed in the history of this family.

It is most likely that Matthew continued with the nonconformists till his death, as we find no intimation that he left their communion. But as he seems to have taken no part in the political and polemical disputes which divided and tortured the people of that day, he was thought by several to be indifferent to all forms of religion. "Had this been so," says Miss Wesley, in a letter now before me, "I should hardly have supposed that such good parents as my grandfather and grandmother would have entrusted him with their darling

* This, as we have seen, took place about the close of the year 1677, or the beginning of 1678.—"Letter from a Country Divine," p. 4.

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daughter [Martha]. He had Hetty before. Martha often told me she never had reason to believe it, as he approved her habit of going regularly to morning prayers at church, and was exemplarily moral in his words and actions, esteeming religion, but never talking of its mysteries. Silence on the subject in that age, when controversy was frequent, might give rise to the suspicion that he was sceptically inclined, especially in a family jealous for its spirituality."

Patty lived long with him, the family say from thirteen years of age, and was used by him with the greatest tenderness: but she complained that he was not decidedly religious, though he was strictly moral in his conduct, and highly esteemed piety in others. See a letter of hers to her brother John, in the memoirs of her life.

There is an excellent saying of his recorded by Mrs. S. Wesley in a letter to her son John in 1735, which should not be omitted:—"Never let any man know that you have heard what he has said against you. It may be he spake on some misinformation, or was in a passion, or did it in a weak compliance with the company; perhaps he has changed his mind, and is sorry for having done it, and may continue friendly to you. But if he finds that you are acquainted with what he has said, he will conclude you cannot forgive him, and upon that supposition will become your enemy."

Mr. Surgeon Wesley had a son who was educated at Oxford, but shortened his life by intemperance. Of any other part of his family I have heard nothing. The late Mr. Charles Wesley used to say, "This young man was a profligate, and the only drunkard in the family." In the Bankrupt's Directory for 1708, is the name of Matthew Wesley, Apothecary, London. This was most probably the son of old Dr. Matthew Wesley, who not only

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shortened his life, but dissipated his goods, by riotous living. In a "Familiar Epistle to a Friend," also published in the poems of Mr. Samuel Wesley, jun., Cambridge edit., 1743, p. 159, there appears to be an allusion to this "battered rake," in a "tale," which he says was "told by my aunt of seventy-five," referring to Matthew's wife, together with her profligate son.

SAMUEL WESLEY, RECTOR OF EPWORTH,
FATHER OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, FOUNDER OF THE METHODISTS.

We have already seen that John Wesley, vicar of Winterborn Whitchurch, Dorsetshire, left two sons, Matthew and Samuel. Of the former we have spoken according to the scanty documents which remain. Of the latter we have more copious materials, with some original information which has never yet been laid before the public.

Mr. Samuel Wesley appears to have been born at Whitchurch in the year 1666. He was educated at the free-school at Dorchester, by Mr. Henry Dolling, to whom, out of respect, he dedicated the first work he printed. Afterwards he became a pupil of the very worthy and learned Mr. Edward Veal, one of the Bartholomew confessors, who at that time was an eminent tutor of a dissenting academy at Stepney. From thence he was removed, after a period of two years, and placed under the care of the ingenious Mr. Charles Morton, who kept another of these dissenting academies at Newington Green. In each of these places he appears to have profited much in classical learning; though there were many things in the private academies of the dissenters with which he found fault, and which, from one of his publications on the subject we learn, were very repre-

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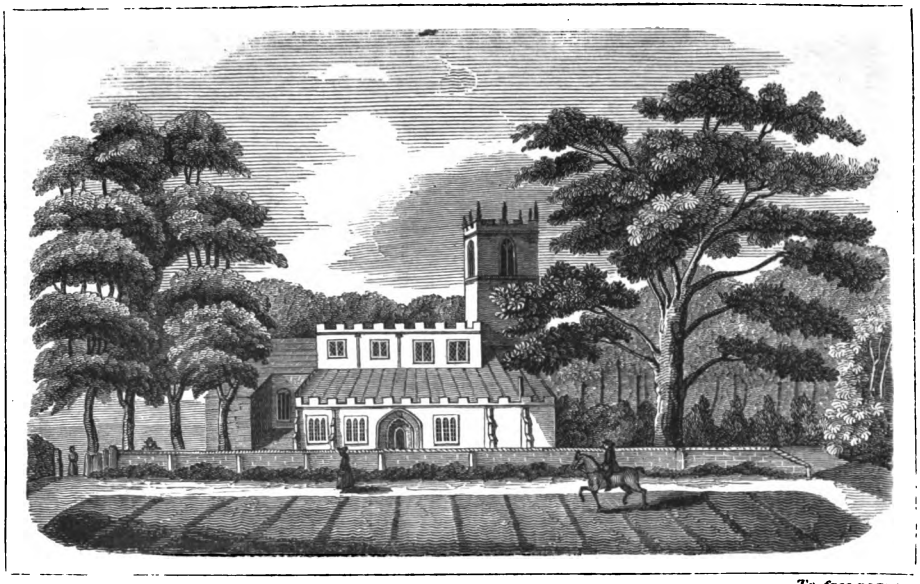

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EPWORTH CHURCH.

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hensible: but they appear to have been chiefly of a political nature. His objections to the manner in which the dissenting academies were conducted he stated in a private letter to a friend, who, several years after (in 1703), without Mr. Wesley's consent or knowledge, published it, which produced a controversy that shall be noticed in its proper place.

The famous Daniel De Foe was educated at the same school,* and has some good remarks on their academies: "It is evident," says he, "the great imperfection of our academies is, want of conversation: this the public universities enjoy; ours cannot. If a man pores upon his book, and despises the advantages of conversation, he always comes out a pedant, a mere scholar, rough and unfit for any thing out of the walls of the college. Conversation polishes the gentleman, acquaints him with men and with words; gives him style, accent, delicacy and taste of expression; and when he comes to appear in public, he preaches, as he discourses, easy, free, plain, unaffected, and untainted with force, stiffness, formality, affected hard words, and all the ridiculous part of a learned pedant, which is, being interpreted, a school-fop. Whilst on the other hand, from *our* schools we have abundance of instances of men, that come away masters of science, critics in Greek and Hebrew, perfect in languages, and perfectly ignorant, if that term may be allowed, of their mother tongue," p. 19.

"Many of the tutors in our academies, being careful to keep the knowledge of the tongues, have all their readings in Greek and Latin, so that at the end of their term of study, they come out unacquainted with English, though that is the tongue in which their gifts are to shine. The usefulness of the languages is no way run

* Rev. Charles Morton's, Newington Green.

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down in this observation; but preaching the gospel, which is the end of our study, is done in English, and it seems absurd to the last degree, that all the time should be spent in the languages, which it is to be fetched from, and none in the language it is to be delivered in," p. 21.

From some of these defects De Foe makes an exception in favour of Mr. Morton's seminary: "There was some years ago (says he) a private academy of dissenters not far from London, the master of which read all his lectures, gave all his systems, whether of philosophy or divinity, in English. And though the scholars were not destitute in the languages, yet they were made masters of the English tongue, and more of them excelled in that particular than of any school at that time. Here were produced, of ministers, Mr. Timothy Crusoe, Mr. Hannot, Mr. Nat. Taylor, Mr. Owen, Mr. Ob. Marriott, Mr. Jno. Shower, and several others; and of another kind, poets, Samuel Wesley, Daniel De Foe, and two or three of your western martyrs, that, had they lived, would have been extraordinary men of their kind, viz., Kitt, Battersby, young Jenkins, Hewling, and many more," p. 22.*

Mr. Morton, who appears to have been every way qualified for his employment, drew up a compendium of logic for the use of his pupils; also systems of the several arts and sciences, which he explained in his lectures. He composed some excellent rules for such of his pupils as were intended for orders, and entitled, "Advice to Candidates for the Ministry." These are preserved by Dr. Calamy, and may be seen in his "Continuation," vol. i., pp. 198—210. The aspersions cast upon him by Mr. Wesley, in representing the academies generally as nurseries of sedition, roused the sensibilities of De Foe,

* De Foe's "Present State of Parties," pp. 316—320.

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and he seizes the occasion to do justice to his memory. He states that they were taught in the same academy, and "I have now by me," says he, "several MSS. of science, which were the exercises of his school, and among the rest those of politics in particular; and I must do that learned gentleman's memory the justice to affirm, that neither in his system of politics, government, and discipline, nor in any other exercises of that school, was there anything taught that was anti-monarchical or destructive to the constitution of England; and particularly among the performances of that school I find a declamation relating to the benefit of a single person in a commonwealth, wherein it is proved, from history and reason, that monarchy is best suited to the nature of government, and the defence of property," p. 24.

Mr. Morton being teazed with continual processes in the Bishops' court, abandoned his country, and embarked for New England in 1685, where he was chosen pastor of a church, and vice-president of Harvard College. He died 1697, aged 70 years. For an account of him abroad, see Dunton's Life and Errors, pp. 169—171 of 1st edit.

Dr. Whitehead and others inform us that Mr. S. Wesley "spent some time at a private academy among the dissenters;" but as none of the Wesleyan biographers have noticed these circumstances particularly, I think it right to bring forward evidence in support of these facts, as well as to correct some errors which are afloat. In Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, vol. iv., p. 196, it is said, "Mr. Wesley was educated at *two* dissenting academies;" and this I find confirmed in a work entitled The Life and Errors of John Dunton, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. At page 62, Dunton says, "The first book I printed was

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Doolittle's * Sufferings of Christ. There was a copy of Greek verses prefixed to this book, which occasioned a poetical duel betwixt the two private academies of Islington and Stepney. Mr. Wesley, then pupil under Mr. Veal, endeavoured to ridicule the poem; with whom I contracted a very intimate friendship."

In the third volume of Wilson's History, &c., p. 79, Mr. Westley is said to have been also a pupil of Thomas Cole, M. A., who, upon being ejected by the king's commissioners in 1660, retired to Nettlebed in Oxfordshire, where he kept a private academy, which was in considerable repute. His statement is, "Mr. Samuel Wesley was a pupil of Mr. Cole, but afterwards conformed to the established church; and, in order to evince the truth of his conversion, wrote very vehemently against his former friends, and shamefully traduced the character of Mr. Cole, as an encourager of immorality in his family." This writer is evidently mistaken; for it does not appear that Mr. Westley was ever at Mr. Cole's academy. What he has advanced on that subject is not mentioned as the result of his own observation, but copied from the life of Mr. James Bonnel, who says, "That in it were all the dangers and vices of the universities, without the advantages. That there was no practice of receiving the sacrament in that place. That his associates were not such from whom he might learn any part of godliness; but, on the contrary, all debauchery. That his tutor, Mr. Cole, was too remiss in matters of religion

* Rev. Thos. Doolittle, A. M., of Pembroke Hall. He kept an academy at Islington about the year 1672, and prepared several young men for the ministry, among whom was Matthew Henry, the commentator. He died May 24, 1707, and was buried at Bunhill Fields. He was the last of the ejected ministers in London. See Nelson's History of Islington, p. 114.

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and morality; and that he could not reflect with comfort on the time spent in that place."—Sam. Wesley's Reply to Palmer, p. 130.

Mr. Wesley's opponent cast some severe reflections on his personal character, to which he replied in the following strain of triumph: "As to this writer's reflections on myself, I own I ought to have lived much better, both before and since I left them; but this I hope I may have leave to say, without breach of truth or modesty, that, if I have not been an exemplary liver, I have never been a scandalous one; and for this I can appeal to my fellow-pupils, both at Mr. Veal's and Mr. Morton's, for the time I remained amongst them. I bless God, they all know the contrary to what this writer affirms; and if any of them should be so unjust as to charge me with anything of this nature, I am extremely mistaken if I do not know some of them, both ministers and gentlemen, who, notwithstanding this controversy, would be so generous and just as to be my compurgators. Though, if all these insinuations were true, and I had really been a scandalous liver while I remained at their academies, I cannot see how this would be for their credit, since I am sure I can prove the contrary while I was at the university. Though one thing I must not conceal, that I may clear my conscience: I cannot deny that I was too keen and revengeful while I lived among the dissenters, nor can I remember any one person that I thought had injured me, whom I ever could forgive, without something which I thought satisfaction; which, though I believe it might be in a great measure from the asperity of my temper, yet I won't say but there might be some other reasons for it; because, since I have left them, I find it so far from being difficult, that I cannot but think it the greatest pleasure, to forgive and

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oblige an enemy · to which no reasonable person will think it any contradiction, that I thus vindicate myself, when charged in the face of the world, as if I were guilty of scandalous falsehoods."—*Defence*, p. 59.

Mr. Wilson, in his History, has said that Mr. Wesley was indebted to the two dissenting academies "for all the religion and learning which he carried with him to Oxford." Be it so. It does not appear that Mr. Wesley took with him to Oxford a large portion of either, as is fully manifest from the following extract: "The next instance is myself, who am fetched in for some rhymes that I wrote almost in my childhood, wherein, if there be anything profane or lewd, I have already told them where I learnt it; and what I have writ since I left them is known to be of another character. This book, Mr. Palmer says, if my tutor had seen me writing while I was among the dissenters, he is confident I should have been expelled; and as confidently tells the world that I wrote it after I had conformed, and while I was a member of Exeter College. In answer: It is notorious that much the greatest part of those boyish rhymes were not writ after I went to the university, but while I was at Mr. Veal's and Mr. Morton's. Several of them were pronounced with applause in our rostra, in those academies, my tutor being present, and were transcribed for that purpose. And I wonder what figure the vindicator will now fly to, to get him off from such a flagrant Palmerism."—*Reply*, p. 129.

In another place he says, "I was a dabbler in rhyme and faction before I came to Mr. Morton's, and had printed several things with the Party's Imprimateur. I can appeal to some of their ministers, to the gravest, eldest, and most learned among them, whether those very ministers did not encourage me in my silly lam-

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poons, both on church and state; whether they have not sent for me on this very account, given me subjects, furnished me with matter, some of them transcribed my writings, and several of them revised and corrected them before they were printed. It was a dissenting minister of no mean fame, who not long* before I went to Oxford, proposed to me the writing a lampoon, reflecting chiefly on one of the bishops; I think it was the bishop of Chichester (Williams); and well remember the occasion. A person was thought to be killed by the mob, or not to have come fairly to his end; who was ordered by the bishop to be taken up again after he was buried, for the coroner's inquest to sit upon him. I knew nothing of the matter myself; but being spoken to about it by the fore-mentioned minister, I went by his direction to another minister, who lived not far from Clapham. The latter gave me full instructions in the matter, and a guinea or two for encouragement; on which I did write the lampoon, and abused the bishop and the whole order to the best of my power; for which I was sufficiently applauded by those who set me to work, and others of their party."—*Reply to Palmer*, p. 138.

He proceeds: "I must not omit to mention that we had Biddle's Life and Works amongst us, some of which I was employed to translate, and promised a considerable gratuity for doing it; but when I saw what it was, I proceeded no further."—*Defence*, p. 52. The reader must be informed, that this was John Biddle, a noted Socinian, who died in 1662, and who is called by Toulmin "the father of English Unitarians."

While he remained at Mr. Veal's, he was accustomed to attend upon the ministry of Mr. Stephen Charnock,

* He says, about the year 1682.

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in Crosby Square, and many other of the most popular dissenting ministers. Before the close of the year 1680 he had taken down more than fifty of his sermons, and many hundreds of others.—*Defence*, p. 47.

Among the occurrences at Mr. Morton's academy, his going to hear the famous John Bunyan may be noticed. The circumstance is mentioned incidentally in his controversy with Palmer. Speaking of ordination, he observes, "Nothing is more common among dissenters than to hear persons (preach), and that daily, who have no form of ordination. I remember several of us went to hear friend Bunyan, when he preached at Newington Green; and Mr. Morton commended him." To this Palmer replies, "It is a most trifling objection, to infer our mean opinion of ordination, because our pupils heard friend Bunyan, and the tutor commended him. Some of us have heard friend Wesley too, and yet I hope it will not prove that we admire or commend him. But I must say, that Mr. Wesley ought not to have spoken so contemptibly of so holy a man, though he was neither of his nor my opinion, nor ordained. The Church of England has done him honour, by licensing a book of his (The Pilgrim's Progress), and commendation of it for the use of Wales, into whose language it was thought by the greatest men worth translating." Mr. W., in his Reply to Palmer, p. 151, returns: "He's very angry with me for affronting that holy man, Mr. Bunyan, by calling him friend, which is the worst word I gave him. He owns that the Presbyterians might hear him, but so he says they did Wesley; yes, and doubtless would have crowded him too, if he had given them but half the prayers, or preached against the 30th of January. But whether they did or no, if I had been to compare Mr. Palmer and John Bunyan, I should have done them

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the justice to have made some small difference between an unordained and illiterate tinker, and a man of letters, who had the form of presbyterian ordination." However the high-church principles which Mr. Wesley now held led him to speak thus contemptuously of this excellent man, yet he was greatly respected by some of the most exalted characters in the city of London; as will appear by an extract from a letter to John Ellis, Esq., Secretary to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland, dated London, Sept. 6, 1688:—"On Tuesday last died the lord mayor, Sir John Shorter, and a few days before died Bunyan, his lordship's teacher or chaplain; a man said to be gifted that way, though once a cobbler."—*See Ellis's Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 161.

Mr. Samuel Wesley was designed for the ministry among the Nonconformists; and in their principles he had been carefully educated. How he came to change his views, and become a zealous churchman, his son, the late Mr. John Wesley, stated as follows:—

"Some severe invectives being written against the dissenters, Mr. S. Wesley, being a young man of conderable talents, was pitched upon to answer them. This set him on a course of reading, which soon produced an effect very different from what had been intended. Instead of writing the wished-for answer, he himself conceived he saw reason to change his opinions; and actually formed a resolution to renounce the dissenters, and attach himself to the established church." This, the family say, was when he was about sixteen years of age.

"He lived at that time with his mother and an old aunt, both of whom were too strongly attached to the dissenting doctrines to have borne with any patience the

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disclosure of his design. He, therefore, got up one morning at a very early hour, and, without acquainting any one with his purpose, set out on foot to Oxford, and entered himself of Exeter College."

Mr. Wesley has been accused by Mr. Palmer and others, that "when he resolved to go to the Church of England, he took twenty pounds of the dissenters' money, and then left them."—*Palmer's Defence*, p. 20. This charge is most disingenuously produced, as it seems to insinuate that he had purloined so much of their property, and then decamped; whereas the truth is, he had received twenty pounds of a legacy, part of which he immediately paid Mr. Morton, at whose academy he was; with the rest he discharged some debts which he owed to the dissenters, and took not one farthing of it to Oxford; the money necessary for his footing it thither being otherwise supplied.—*Answer*, p. 57.

Mr. S. Wesley was at this time about * seventeen years of age; for from the registers of Exeter College it appears that his caution money was paid to Mr. Richard Hutchins, Bursar, by Mr. William Crabb, then Dean of that College, on Sept. 26, 1684, which was returned Dec. 22, 1686. In the letter from a country divine to a friend near London, he says, "In Aug. 1683 I entered a servitor of Exeter College. I was initiated in deacon's orders by the Bishop of Rochester, at his palace of B., Aug. 7, 1688, and on the 26th of February following was ordained priest in St. Andrew's Church, Holborn."

The whole entry, as obtained from Exeter College, and given by Mr. Southey, is as follows:—

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* His son Samuel says sixteen; but the Oxford historian eighteen. I have therefore adopted the medium.

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DEPOSIT OF CAUTION MONEY.	RETURN OF CAUTION MONEY.
Sept. 26, 1684. Mro. Hutchins pro Samuele Westley, paup. Schol. de Dorchester, £3. Ric. Hutchins. Guil. Crabb.	Dec. 22, 1686. [5?] Samueli Westley, pro seipso. Ric. Hutchins. Samuel Westley.
Feb. 9, 1686. Mro. Paynter, pro Sam. Westley, p. schol. olim admisso. £3. Guil. Paynter. Ric. Hutchins.	Jan. 10, 1687. Mihi ipsi pro impensis Coll. debitis ad fest. Nat. 87. £3. Jo. Harris.

From this entry it would appear that Dean Crabb laid down the first caution money for Mr. S. Wesley. There is a note on these entries as given by Mr. Southey, which I shall copy.

"The *pauper scholaris* was the lowest of the four conditions of members not on the foundation, as the annexed table, copied from one prefixed to the Caution Book, shows:

Summæ tradendæ Bursario pro ratione diversarum conditionum scire.	1. Commensalium admissorum ad mensam	1. Sociorum . . £6. 2. Propriam . . £5.
	2. Battallariorum	£4.
	3. Pauperum Scholarium	£3.

"There seems reason to suspect that Dec. 22, 1686, in the first entry of return, should be 1685; for otherwise Samuel Westley will appear to have two cautions *in* at once; and from the state of his finances, this is peculiarly improbable."

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I do not see any difficulty here. The entry is most probably correct; for, in two years after his admission, so fertile a genius and so diligent a man might be well supposed to be capable of raising such requisite small sums: for in the preceding year, 1685, he had published his first work, entitled, *Maggots*, for which his brother-in-law, J. Dunton the publisher, gave him as much as he could afford. He took his bachelor's degree in 1688.* While he was at college, he visited the prisoners in the castle, to relieve their necessities, as well as to afford them spiritual instruction. In a letter which we shall hereafter introduce, he says to his sons, who wrote to him for advice on this subject: "Go on, in God's name, in the path which your Saviour has directed you, and that track wherein your father has gone before you; for when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, I visited them in the castle there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day." The following question and answer was probably written by himself to the Athenian Society. Q. "Going through Holborn last week, I happened to see the prisoners going to execution, some of whom I perceived not at all concerned, as to outward appearance for their future state. I desire your opinion whether it would not be a commendable thing for the

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* The following notice from the University Registrar, Cambridge, of Samuel Wesley's incorporation there, will be new to most readers.

"Incorporated 1694.
Sam. Westley, A. B., Coll. Exon. Ox:
Samuel Westley, A. M., Coll. C. C. Camb. 1694."

No date, it is stated, of the day and month, was ever put in those days. In both cases, there is one signature, spelt with the *t*. This is important, as it is not noticed by preceding biographers, that he proceeded Master of Arts at Cambridge.—EDITOR.

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clergy of London, to preach once every Lord's-day to the prisoners, which would not come to their turns above once in two years. There have been instances of some who have been hardened enough, and yet, by ministers taking pains with them, have been so convinced of their wickedness, as to leave no doubt of their repentance and salvation. Whereas neither the church ministers nor the dissenters now take any pains with those poor creatures, though the latter as well as the former have liberty, if they please, to do it." A. "What the querist wishes, we believe, will be readily subscribed to by all charitable men; though, if he would give himself the trouble to inquire, he would find Right Rev. Bishops of our church have themselves preached among them, and thereby given so good an example, as would be an honour to the clergy to imitate."—*Oracle*, Vol. II., p. 495.

Though Mr. Wesley's opinions might have been much shaken, yet he was not wholly detached from the dissenters either in affection or religious fellowship till after his return from the university. I shall give the relation in his own words, which must be considered as the only true account.

"When I came from the university, my acquaintance lay chiefly among the dissenters; having scarce any intimacy before I went thither from London with any of the Church of England, unless with two reverend and worthy persons, my relations, who lived at a great distance; one of whom, coming to London, was so kind as to see me while I was at Mr. Morton's; and gave me such arguments against that schism which I was then embarked with, as added weight to my resolutions when I began to think of leaving it. But after my return to London I contracted an acquaintance with a gentleman of the Church of England, who, knowing my former

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way of life, did often importune me to give him an account in writing of the dissenters' methods of education in their private academies; concerning which he had heard several passages from me in conversation, though for some time I did not satisfy him therein; and it was the following remarkable occurrence which altered my inclinations as to that affair. I happened to be with some of my former acquaintance at a house in Leadenhall-street, or thereabouts, in the year 1693. All of them, I remember, were then dissenters, except one, and he has since left the Church of England. Their discourse was so fulsomely lewd and profane, that I could not endure it; but went to the other side of the room with a doctor of physic, who had been my fellow-pupil at Mr. Morton's, and to whom I owe the justice to declare that he likewise disliked the conversation.

"A little after, we went to supper; but then the scene was changed, and they all fell a railing at monarchy, and blaspheming the memory of king Charles the martyr, discoursing of their calves-head club, and producing or repeating some verses on that subject. I remember one of the company told us of a design that they had, at their next calves-head feast, to have a cold pie served on the table, with either a live cat or hare, I have forgot whether, inclosed; and they contrived to put one of their company who loved monarchy, and knew nothing of the matter, to cut it up; whereupon, and on the leaping out of the cat or hare, they were all to set up a shout, and cry, 'Halloo, old puss!' to the honour of the good old cause, and to show their affection to a commonwealth. Since I wrote this, I got a sight of the calves-head anthems; and in that for the year 1694 I find these verses:—

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"Then to puss, boys; to puss, boys!
Let us drink it off thus, boys!"

on which, if I mistake not, this story will be a good comment.

"By this, as well as by several other discourses which I had heard among them, I found that their principles were not at all altered; and these conversations so turned my stomach against them, and gave me such a just indignation against such villanous principles and practices, that I returned to my lodgings, and resolved to draw up what the gentleman desired," &c.—*Defence of Letter, &c.*, p. 4.

This is his own account of his utterly separating himself from the communion of the dissenters; though his mind appears to have had a predisposing bias to that separation for some time.

But, though neither a dissenter, nor their apologist, I must observe, that the conclusions which Mr. S. Wesley drew were not entirely supported by the premises. Perhaps a more barbarous, abominable, and sickening institution than the calves-head club never disgraced the convivial assemblies of a Christian country; and those who were capable of sitting down to such a repast, with its concomitant representations and recollections, could not, I imagine, hesitate, if among our antipodes in New Zealand, to sit down to have their share of a roasted human victim. But still the calves-head club was not the body of the dissenters; nor was it ever approved by that body: therefore its proceedings are not fairly chargeable upon the dissenters; some classes of whom were cordially averse from the death of the king, though they had a deep conviction that his aim was to establish an arbitrary power in the state and popery in the church: and let me add, that they were among the foremost to restore the monarchy.

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Mr. S. Wesley's ancestors were all dissenters. They had many conscientious scruples against joining in the communion of the church, and admitting its hierarchy; yet it does not appear, as has been previously noticed, that there was one disloyal man among them. In the heat of his zeal for the church, after his conversion from dissenting principles, Mr. S. Wesley, in his controversial writings, often overstepped the bounds of Christian moderation. But in those unhappy times all parties ran into extremes.

Not long after finally quitting his connexion with the dissenters, he wrote the following poem on the Death of the Prince of Wales, inserted in Nichols's Select Collection of Poets, vol. 7, p. 98.

ON THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.*

When Ariosto, in the fields of light,
Looked down and saw our under-worlds so bright,
Soon did he in our joys and triumphs share,
Soon knew of Este's and England's wondrous heir;
Resolvèd his vocal picture Fame should give,
And with his great forefathers make him doubly live.
And now he strikes some soft, some mighty string,
Soft as his own Italian virgins sing:
Divinely mixed the great and good appear,
And all alike is scattered every where.
What should it mean? but need it twice be seen,
Each stroke, each line confesses—'Tis the Queen.
Her face, as if she brought great James a boy,
Discovering in their turn great pain and joy.
Thus Semele with pangs and thunders strove,
And thought her life too cheap to give an heir to Jove.

* From the Strenæ Natalitiæ Academiæ Oxoniensis in clesissimum Principeu. Oxonii, 1688. K.

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What has he done? such dazzling lustre shined
Around her eyes, there's not one grace behind,
And still the royal father's not designed.
Yet he recovers all, his pencil spread
A modest veil around his radiant head;
He shades what was too bright to be expressed,
And in his little image speaks the rest.

'Tis done: each look, each glance, must needs surprise;
His father's soul shines through his mother's eyes.
The planets in his composition strove,
And formed him all of bravery and love.
Thus looked great James, when he, in Dunkirk field,
Before hard fate retired, but could not yield;
Or when his thunders, at Batanea hurled,
Pale Neptune scared, and all his watery world.
He's finished all; now the great work is past,
Which fate has said, shall time and age outlast;
Each piece of his creation he reviewed,
And knew their worth, and dared pronounce them good.

"Hail! child of miracles!" all rapt he cried;
"Hail! son of prayers, we thought too long denied!
I feel, I feel the rising God within:
There, there I see the glorious mystic scene:
In decent ranks each coming bliss appears,
And in their hands lead up the harnessed years.
Here he defends his father's mighty throne,
And there he conquers others of his own:
Here rides in triumph o'er the watery plain,
And vindicates his title to the main;
And there so thick the vanquished colours lie,
As if each soldier beat a company:
Here, where his arms have given Europe peace,
And rugged wars tumultuous glories cease;
I see his valiant brothers, yet to come,
Share in his triumphs, and attend him home.
I see thy loyal waters, Isis, moved
(For never English prince but Isis loved)
When he comes there: these venerable men,
Who met great James, how do they crowd again!

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Again each clustered street and house prepare,
With flowers and hearts, t' attend great James's heir.
The lively youths their valour fain would try,
And almost wish for some new enemy,
Greater than him,* who but too quickly fell,
Whom they prepared to entertain so well.
Soft music plays; and yet a brighter scene,
And a new face of things, and a new world begin.
Rivers of honey and of nectar glide
Along the laughing fields, and by their side
Fair troops of happy, thoughtless lovers stray,
And look and smile their flowing hours away.
Kind peace and heavenly friendship here shall reign,
And bring the blissful, golden age again.
No cloudy forehead, no contracted brow,
No fear of all those wounds are bleeding now.
Almost I'd leave Elysium here to stay;—
But fate too soon recalls—I must away,—"
He said; when o'er the hills he saw the rising day:
Then in those flames, which joy like his expressed,
He mounts, and fills his seat among the blest.

SAM. WESLEY, A. B., of Exeter Coll.

In reference to the poems and other public expressions of feeling on the occasion of the birth alluded to in the above, a writer remarks:—

"We expect verses gratulatory upon the birth of the prince from both the Universities, and also from the Society of Magdalen College, in a particular book by themselves."—*Ellis's Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 4, June 28, 1688.

"July 17, 1688.—A grand display of fire-works took place on the Thames, for an account of which see Ellis's Correspond., vol. ii., p. 52."—*Evelyn Diary*, this date.

When S. Wesley entered himself at Oxford, he had only two pounds five shillings, and no prospect of future supplies, except from his own exertions. However, he

* Duke of Monmouth.

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supported himself by publishing, and probably by assisting the younger students, till he took his bachelor's degree, without any preferment or assistance from his friends, but only five shillings. See his letter to his brother Matthew.

He now came to London, having increased his little stock to ten pounds fifteen shillings. He was ordained deacon in 1688, and obtained a curacy of twenty-eight pounds per annum, which he held one year; and was then appointed a chaplain aboard the fleet, where he had seventy pounds per annum. This appointment he held for only one year, during which time he began his poem on the Life of Christ,* which will be noticed in its proper place. He then came to London, and obtained another curacy of thirty pounds per annum (see the above letter to his brother Matthew), which he held two years, and which income, by his industry and writings, he raised to sixty pounds per annum.

He then married, had a son (Samuel), and he, his wife, and child, lived in lodgings; till, a year after, in 1691, he had the living of South Ormsby, in the county of Lincoln, given to him, worth about fifty pounds per annum. This, he affirms, was given to him without soliciting any person for it, without any expectation of it, or even so much as once thinking of it.—*Defence*, p. 3.

This, I believe, was the place of which Mr. John Wesley gave the following account:—

"My father's first preferment in the church was a small parish (South Ormsby) obtained for him by the Marquis of Normanby. This nobleman had a house in the parish, where a woman who lived with him usually resided. This lady *would* be intimate with my mother.

* Life of Christ, p. 30, in a note. Ed. 1693.

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whether *she* would or not. To such an intercourse my father would not submit. Coming in one day, and finding this intrusive visitant sitting with my mother, he went up to her, took her by the hand, and very fairly handed her out. The nobleman resented the affront so outrageously as to make it necessary for my father to resign the living." He left South Ormsby in 1696, or early in 1697, for in this year Thomas Raven succeeded him in the Rectory. Indeed there is no evidence of Mr. S. Wesley's handwriting after 1696, in the register of this church. While he possessed the living of South Ormsby he had five children.

I have already hinted that while at College Mr. Wesley supported himself partly by publishing; and this is corroborated by Dunton, who says, "There is the rector of Epworth, who got his bread by the 'Maggots' I published." As this circumstance is but little known, I shall be more particular in my statement of it.

Mr. Wesley's intimacy in the family of Dr. Annesley was most likely brought about by his acquaintance with the famous eccentric bookseller, John Dunton, well known in the typographical history of England.

A correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine* thus speaks of him: "The principal part of Dunton's writings were intimately connected with the literary history of England and Ireland (particularly the former); no man in his day was, in some respects, more conversant on the subject, as will appear from his "Life and Errors," now republished; for in it will be found some particulars of almost every man who had even the humblest share in letters, from the author who wrote a book to him who read it, printed it, licensed its publication, bound it, and adorned it with engravings. All this kind

* Vol. 88, part i. p. 292.

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of information our author, first as a bookseller, and next as a book-maker, of long standing in London, had the best means and opportunities of acquiring. Amongst other particulars of his life, Dunton gives an account of a voyage he made to Boston in New England, wherein he pays particular attention to the state of religion in the new colony, and especially to the means then employed for converting the native Indians to the Christian religion; a glorious undertaking, which, unfortunately for the cause of Christianity, was too soon laid aside. On his return from America, Dunton visited Holland, and some parts of Germany. Not long afterwards he visited Ireland, of which he gives a lively and entertaining account of such parts of the country as fell under his observation. This account was first printed in his Conversations in Ireland. He landed in April, 1698, in Dublin; of which city, what is said is curious, as it serves to let us into the history of many of the inhabitants of that day." To give a list of this printer's works may scarcely be deemed admissible here; but there is one so exceedingly singular and curious that I cannot pass it by without notice, though one of the seven books he repented having printed. "Heavenly Pastime, or Pleasant Observations on all the most remarkable Passages throughout the Holy Bible of the Old and New Testament, newly allegorized in several delightful Dialogues, Poems, Similitudes, and Divine Fancies. By John Dunton, author of the Sick Man's Passing-Bell. The second edition. London, printed for John Dunton, at the Black Raven, at the corner of Princes Street, near the Royal Exchange, 1685, 18mo." At the conclusion of this work he gives "a catalogue of fifteen extraordinary pleasant and useful books," of which he gives a copious analysis. The

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subjects of the "Heavenly Pastime" may be referred to in a note.*

On the 3rd August, 1682, this gentleman espoused Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Dr. Samuel Annesley, on which occasion young Wesley, then a pupil of Mr.

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* A very delightful New-Year's Gift, intituled, Heavenly Pastime; to which is added, (1) The miraculous manner of the production of our old grandmother Eve, with the supposed manner of Adam's first nuptial addresses to her, with the pleasant circumstance of their marriage. (2) You have an account of Eve's first addresses to Adam, and her industry in making a garment for her husband. (3) You have a pleasant account of Adam and Eve's winter suits, their lodging, and first building, with an account in what pretty manner they first invented a fire to warm them. (4) You have abundance of supposed dialogues, very full of delightful reading. The first is between Adam and Eve, and Eve and the serpent. The second dialogue is between Cain and Abel, Monster Sin, and Conscience. The third, between Abraham and Sarah, upon her laughing at the thought of her bearing children in her old age. The fourth, between Abraham and his dear and only son Isaac, before his father went to offer him up as a sacrifice. The fifth, between Isaac and Rebecka at their first meeting. The sixth, between Jacob and Rachel, upon his being willing to serve fourteen years to obtain her love. (5) A wonderful account how Pharaoh and all his host were drowned in the Red Sea. (6) A dialogue between Grim Death and the Flying Minutes. (7) Between Balaam and his Ass. (8) The Triumphs of Chastity, or a dialogue between Joseph and his Mistress upon her tempting of him to uncleanness. (9) A dialogue between the wanton harlot and the debauched youth. (10) A dialogue between Samson and his beloved Delilah. (11) Between Ruth and Naomi, upon these words, "Nothing but death shall part thee and me." (12) Between David and Goliah, upon their first encounter. (13) Between Jonathan and David, including all the sweets of an entire friendship. (14) Between David, Uriah, and Bathsheba. (15) A choice dialogue fancied between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, about the wonderful works of God throughout the whole creation; to

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Veal's, presented them with an Epithalamium of ten verses, which Dunton has inserted in his Life and Errors, p. 78, 2nd edit.; also Athenian Oracle, vol. i., p. 73. Another of whom, Susannah, the youngest, Mr. Wesley afterwards married.—See above. Mr. Dunton has been

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which is added the glory and splendour of King Solomon's court, together with the Queen of Sheba's glorious progress to it. (16) A dialogue between Jehu and wanton Jezabel. (17) Haman on the gallows, or a dialogue between Haman and Mordecai. (18) Between Adonibezek and one of the sixty kings he tormented under his table, supposed to be in the other world. (19) A dialogue between Job and his wife. (20) Between Isaiah and Hezekiah relating to the fifteen years that was added to his life. (21) A dialogue between Nebuchadnezzar and the three children, called Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, that were cast into the fiery furnace. (22) Between Darius and Daniel, when he was cast into a den, to be devoured by roaring lions. (23) Between Jonah and the mariners in the storm, before he was swallowed up alive by a whale. (24) Between Zacharias and Elizabeth. (25) A fancied dialogue between rich Dives and poor ragged Lazarus. (26) A very affectionate dialogue between the returning prodigal and his loving father, together with choice meditations upon our Saviour's great compassion to the converted thief upon the cross. (27) A dialogue between Judas and the high-priest, about betraying of Christ, together with Judas's doleful despair. (28) Between Nicodemus and the deceitful world, wherein the world promises glorious matters. (29) A dialogue between Pilate and his wife after he had condemned our blessed Saviour. (30) A choice dialogue between Jairus and his daughter, after her being raised from the dead, representing what ravishing sights probably her soul might behold during all the time her body lay dead in the grave. (31) A memento to hypocrites, or a dialogue between Ananias and Sapphira. (32) A strange dialogue between the Devil and Simon Magus. (33) Between the dispossest Damosel and her master, when Paul and Silas were by a miracle released out of prison. (34) Useful meditations upon Eutichus falling down dead, sleeping at a sermon. (35) An

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called Mr. Samuel Wesley's near relative. But there was no other relationship between them but what is consequent on marrying two sisters.

Mr. Dunton being an adventurous publisher, Mr. Wesley employed him to print and publish his first work, the title of which is as follows: "MAGGOTS, or Poems on several Subjects never before handled. By a Scholar. 18mo. London, 1685. John Dunton."

Mr. Wesley was only nineteen years of age* when he produced this work, entitled Maggots, thereby conveying the sense of what the book really contained, whimsical ideas, and in this acceptation it is used by Norris: "To pretend to work out a new scheme of thoughts with a maggotty, unsettled head, is as ridiculous as to think to write straight in a jumbling coach."—See Johnson's Dictionary. Dunton, in the Introduction to his Life and Errors, says, "Perhaps some will call it one of

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awakening dialogue between the mariners after St. Paul's shipwreck, with above fifty extraordinary pleasant dialogues and poems besides. By John Dunton, author of the Sick Man's Passing-bell. Price 2s. 6d., bound. Here is a proper specimen of a puffing* bookseller. The style of the book is singular; it is a sort of half blank verse, or what is called prose run mad.

The 2nd article is The Complete Tradesman. The 3rd edition, with large additions; wherein is now fully taught the Pleasant and Delightful Art of Money-catching. Price 1s. bound.

3. An Ingenious Discourse against Naked Breasts and Shoulders, Patches, Painted Faces, and Long Perriwigs. By Mr. Jay, Rector of Chinner, in Oxfordshire. Price 1s. bound.

* See Nichol's ed. of Dunton's Life and Errors, p. xi. of the Memoir.

* And such Mr. Wesley considered him, for in one of his letters concerning the disturbances at the Parsonage, at Epworth, p. 181, he says, "The whole account would make a glorious penny book for Jack Dunton; but while I live I am not ambitious for any thing of that nature."

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Dunton's Maggots," for having printed thirty of Wesley's writings, it would be strange if I should not by imitation become one myself. But it is far from being maggotty, for if a man must be called a maggot for starting thoughts that are wholly new, then farewell invention." I have been thus particular, because Palmer has been exceedingly severe on a book which was published anonymously; and when Wesley is challenged as the author, we find he neither attempts to deny nor defend it, but apologizes for these poems as "*boyish Rimes* he wrote almost in his childhood," and to which reference has been already made. Dr. Southey, in his Specimens of the Early English Poets, speaks thus of the author, and of the Maggots: "His imagination seems to have been playful and diffuse; had he written during his son's celebrity, some of his pieces might perhaps have been condemned by the godly as profane." I confess I can find nothing in this, or any other of his publications, that strictly merits such a reflection, though it must be acknowledged there are several in which a want of delicacy is too apparent, and so indeed in many other writers of that day. But, to proceed with Dr. Southey's account of it: "In a lively and witty epistle to the reader, the author remarks, 'In the next place, since it comes uppermost, I am to tell ye, *bona fidæ*, that is, in English, *in verbo sacerdotis*, that all are here my own *pure Maggots*, the natural issue of my own brain-pan, bred and born there.'" Dr. S. then gives, as specimens, "A Pindaric on the Grunting of a Hog," and "The King turned Thrasher." It is not necessary to enter largely into the subject of these juvenile productions; but if the reader is desirous of going in search of these Maggots, he may find them, not only in Dr. Southey's work, but in "the Gentleman's Magazine;" and, with several more,

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in the "Athenian Sports," published by Dunton. They are thus defended in the first paper of that work: "The way to elegance of style," says the writer, "is to employ the pen upon every subject, and the more trivial and barren, the more talent is required. This old Homer knew well, when he wrote a poem concerning a fight between Frogs and Mice, and some of our modern authors have sported themselves upon trifling subjects, such as 'Upon the Leg of a Fly,' 'A Straw,' 'A Point,' nay upon 'Nothing;' striving to show the *greatness* of their wit in the *smallness* of the subject. It was this that made a reverend brother spin 200 verses out of a Cow's Tail—that made Wesley write in praise of a Maggot—De Foe sing a Hymn to the Pillory—and Swift tell a Tale of a Tub. The ingenuity of a husbandman is not tried by a soil that is fruitful to his hand, but by so manuring a barren soil as to make it fat and fruitful. Let me have noble thoughts from barren subjects, rather than useless ones from great; a small tree bearing a great deal of fruit, rather than a great tree with little but leaves. Give me an Iliad in a nutshell, for I hate 'a great cry and little wool.'"

To this work there was prefixed a portrait, to the knees, of a youth (the author), crowned with laurel, writing at a table; on his forehead a maggot, and underneath these verses:—

> In his own defence the author writes,
> Because when this foul maggot bites
> He ne'er can rest in quiet:
> Which makes him make so sad a face,
> He'd beg your worship or your grace,
> Unsight, unseen, to buy it.

"It is to be regretted," says Mr. Grainger, who de-

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scribes this portrait* (vol. iv., p. 329), "that Mr. Samuel Wesley's vein of poetry was not exhausted when he published his *Maggots;* as he incurred the censure of Garth, in his 'Dispensary,' who severely lashes him in these lines:

> 'Had Wesley never aimed in verse to please,
> He had not ranked with our *Ogilbys*.
> Still censures will on dull pretenders fall;
> A *Codrus* should expect a *Juvenal!*'"

This is as splenetic as it is unjust; and Mr. Wesley, in two lines, most amply turned the scorpion's sting upon its own head:—

> "What wonder *he* should Wesley *Codrus* call,
> Who dares surname *himself* a *Juvenal!*"

The learned reader will at once recollect that Garth alludes to Juv., Sat. iii., ver. 203:—

> Lectus erat Codro,—&c.
> Nihil habuit Codrus: quis enim negat? et tamen illud
> Perdidit infelix totum nil: ultimus autem
> Ærumnæ cumulus, quòd nudum, et frustra rogantem,
> Nemo cibo, nemo hospitio, tectoque juvebat.
>
> Codrus had but one bed,—&c.
> 'Tis true, poor Codrus nothing had to boast,
> And yet poor Codrus all that nothing lost;
> Begged naked through the streets of wealthy Rome,
> And found not one to feed or take him home.
>
> DRYDEN.

I see no lashing here: the fact of the poverty of Codrus, and the public neglect of him, is stated by Juvenal. If misfortune and public neglect of the merits of a poet be fit subjects for satire, not only Codrus, but Milton,—

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* A copy of this very scarce and curious portrait was published about ten years ago, by T. Rodd, No. 2, Great Newport Street, Long Acre, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

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who got but five pounds for his Paradise Lost, the best poem ever written,*—and Edmund Spencer, who is said to have died in a garret, and whose works are as far beyond every thing that Garth wrote as the Peak of Teneriffe is beyond a mole-hill,—may all come in for a very large share. Besides, Juvenal appears more to lament the misfortune of Codrus than to find fault with him.

The judgment of De Foe, author of a poem, entitled, "The Reformation of Manners," was more candid to the man, while he justly lashed the profligacy of the times. [1 Ed. 1702, p. 57.]

"Let him whose fate it is to write for bread,
Keep this one maxim always in his head:
If in this age he would expect to please,
He must not cure, but nourish, the disease:
Dull moral things will never pass for wit;
Some years ago they might, but now 'ts too late.
In vain the sober thing inspired with wit,
Writes hymns and histories† from Sacred Writ;
But let him blasphemy and bawdy write,
The pious and the modest both will buy't.

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* Mr. John Milton sold his copy of Paradise Lost, April 27, 1667, to Mr. Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds, with a stipulation to receive five pounds more when 1300 should be sold of the first edition; and again five pounds after the sale of the same number of the second edition, and another five pounds after the same sale of the third. None of the three editions was to extend beyond 1300 copies. The third edition was published in 1678; and Milton's widow, to whom the copyright then devolved, sold all her claims to Mr. Simmons for eight pounds! and Simmons transferred his whole right to Brabazon Aylmer for £25. Only 3000 copies of this incomparable work were sold in eleven years!

† The History of the New Testament in Verse, with cuts, by Samuel Wesley, 1701, of which we shall speak hereafter.

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Wesley, with pen and poverty beset,
And Blackmore, versed in physic as in wit,
Though this of JESUS, that of *Job* may sing,
One bawdy play will twice *their* profits bring."

Mr. Wesley's poetic talents, of whatever order, were always employed in the cause of truth and moral purity. Garth, whose muse had a strong pinion, prostituted his talents in publishing versions of the most abominable parts of the vilest productions of Ovid. But he is gone to another tribunal.

The worst that his brother-in-law, Dunton, could say of Mr. Wesley, when he quarrelled with him, was this:—

"He loves too much the Heliconian strand,
Whose stream's unfurnished with the *golden sand*."

By this first publication, *Maggots*, he is not supposed to have gained much.* Mr. Wesley wrote many poetical pieces for Dunton while he was at college, for which he was liberally rewarded. This he in effect acknowledges in a letter to Mr. Dunton, apologizing for a long silence.

Epworth, July 24, 1697.

"Dear Brother,

"It has been neither unkindness to you, with whom I have traded and been justly used for many years, which has made me so long neglect answering your several letters; but the hurry of a removal, and my extraordinary business, being obliged to preach the visitation sermon at Gainsborough, at the bishop's

* The publishing price was probably not more than 6*d.* or 1*s.*; but now the book is so exceedingly scarce, that a guinea or twenty-five shillings is readily obtained for it. Thomas Marriott, Esq., bid a pound for it at the sale of Mr. Nassau's books, by Evans, in Pall Mall, but was outbid by a bookseller, who went to a higher price.—EDITOR.

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coming thither, which is but just over. Besides, I would fain have sent you an *elegy* as well as an *epitaph*, but cannot get one to my mind; and therefore you must be content with *half* your desire. And if you please to accept this epitaph, it is at your service; and I hope it will come before you will need *another epithalamium*.

I am,

Your obliged friend and brother,

S. WESLEY."

—*Life and Errors*, p. 164.

The import of this letter was wholly misunderstood by the author of "Literary Anecdotes," when he observed that *elegies*, *epitaphs*, and *epithalamiums* were articles in which Dunton traded. The object of the letter was no matter of trade, but arose from the following circumstances: Mrs. Dunton, after an illness of "forty weeks," died on the 28th of May, 1697, and was buried with great pomp in Bunhill-fields burial-ground. Mr. Dunton observes, that he put above twenty of his relatives in mourning on the occasion. The elegant tomb he erected is still standing. During his affliction for her loss, he wrote several letters to Mr. Wesley, her brother-in-law, requesting him to write an "elegy" to her memory, and an "epitaph" for her tomb. Owing to "extraordinary circumstances," Mr. Wesley's reply was delayed till the 24th of July, for which he apologizes, but incloses the "*epitaph*," saying, "you must be content with *half* your desire."* But Dunton, by this time, was actually paying his addresses to Sarah, the daughter of Madame Jane Nicholas, of St. Albans, to whom he was married before the close of the year. Mr. W., having

* The *elegy* and the *epitaph* are both inserted in Dunton's Life and Errors, 2 ed., p. 284-5.

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probably heard of his attentions to this lady, *sarcastically* adds, "I hope it will come before you need *another* "epithalamium;" alluding to one he gave him on his *first marriage*, and to which we have already adverted.

In the beginning of the year 1690, John Dunton projected a paper, which was at first entitled, "The Athenian Gazette, or Casuistical Mercury, resolving all the nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious;" but which, in a little time, "*to oblige authority*," he altered to the "Athenian Mercury." And the project was founded, as himself tells us, on Acts xvii. 21: "For all the ATHENIANS, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else but either to TELL or to HEAR some new thing." The object of the work was to receive and answer all questions in all faculties and departments of literature. Mr. Dunton's account of this undertaking, and the persons employed in it, who were denominated "The Athenian Society," will not be unacceptable to the reader, as connected with the subject of these pages.

"When I had thus formed the design," says he, "I found that some assistance was absolutely necessary to carry it on; in regard the project took in the whole compass of learning, and the nature of it required dispatch. I had then some acquaintance with the ingenious Mr. Richard Sault, who turned *Malebranche* into English for me, and was admirably well skilled in the mathematics. To him I unbosomed myself, and he very freely offered to become concerned. So soon as the design was well advertized, Mr. Sault and myself, without any more assistance, settled to it with great diligence; and Nos. 1 and 2 were entirely of Mr. Sault's composure and mine. The project being surprising and unthought of, we were immediately overloaded with letters. The Athenian Gazette made now such a noise in the world,

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and was so universally received, that we were obliged to look out after more members. The ingenious Dr. Norris very generously offered his assistance *gratis;* but refused to become a stated member of Athens. He was wondrously useful in supplying hints.

"The undertaking growing every week upon our hands, the impatience of our querists, and the curiosity of their questions, which required a great deal of accuracy and care, did oblige us to adopt a third member of Athens; and the Rev. Samuel Wesley being just come to town, all new from the university, and my acquaintance with him being very intimate, I easily prevailed with him to embark himself upon the same bottom, and in the same cause. With this new addition, we found ourselves to be masters of the whole design; and thereupon we neither lessened nor increased our number."

Of the society itself, the "learned" Mr. Charles Gildon published a history, without his name, which was prefixed to the first volume of the Athenian Gazette, and is described by themselves to be the production of a "gentleman who got secret intelligence of their whole proceedings." It is thus advertised: "History of the Athenian Society; giving an account of the novelty, advantage, first inventor, and occasion of this useful undertaking; the difficulties that attend it; the noble daring of the first author, with a particular account of the rest; the reasons why this society assumed the title of Athenian; the progress, methods, and performances of the society when established; a *prospect* of what the world is suddenly to expect from it, and likewise what it has reason to hope for hereafter; with a too favourable account of both the principles of its opposers, and the injustice of their endeavours:—to all which is prefixed an ode, made by Mr. Swift; as also several poems

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written by Mr. Tate, Mr. Mollens, Mr. Richardson, and others. These heads are all largely treated on in the forementioned history, which is prefixed to the first volume of the Athenian Gazette."

In the Athenian Gazette, no names were given to the public. It was published every Tuesday and Saturday; consisted of a single folio; and the first number made its appearance on Tuesday, March 17, 1690, and closed Feb. 8, 1695-6. Each number was one penny. Thirty numbers, that is, sixty pages, made what was called a volume; and, stitched in marble paper, was sold for two shillings and sixpence; and the work was continued to the twentieth volume,* "when," says Mr. Dunton, "we took up, to give ourselves a little ease and refreshment; for the labours and travels of the mind are as expensive, and wear the spirits off as fast, as those of the body." I possess the first twelve volumes of this work, but have not seen the others.

The society was never composed of more than three members: Mr. John Dunton the projector, Mr. Richard Sault, and the Rev. Samuel Wesley. Their original articles of agreement, dated April 10, 1691, are still preserved in the Bodleian Library, executed by these three persons, viz.:

Samuel Wesley, Clerk.
Richard Sault, Gent.
John Dunton, Bookseller.

* With this day's number (No. 30, Feb. 8, 1695-6), which concluded the nineteenth volume, John Dunton thought it right to discontinue his weekly publication, "as the coffee-houses had the Votes every day, and nine newspapers every week," and proposed to publish his Mercuries in Quarterly Volumes, "designing again to continue it as a weekly paper, as soon as the glut of news is a little over."

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Among the contributors to this undertaking were some of the first men of the nation, viz., Dr. Norris, Daniel De Foe, Mr. Richardson, Nahum Tate, poet-laureate, Dean Swift, the Marquis of Halifax, Sir William Temple, Sir Thomas Pope, Blount, Sir William Hedges, Sir Peter Pett, Mr. Motteaux, &c. Occasionally, they published Supplements to the volumes, relating to foreign literature, of which they were a sort of general review.

Before this time the public journals were either restricted to the temporary politics of the day, or to angry discussions of an ecclesiastical nature; and it is but justice to say, that Dunton and his coadjutors have the merit of first giving them a literary turn.

Though there were never more than three members in this society, yet in the advertisement to the thirteenth number, it is stated, "We have now taken into our society a Civilian, a Doctor of Physic, and a Chirurgeon," one of whom is conjectured to be Matthew Wesley; and they therefore proposed answering all questions in those sciences. The latter, however, whoever they were, could be only assistants; for Messrs. Dunton, Sault, and Wesley were the proprietors, and no doubt divided the profits, which must have been considerable for the time. The name of Wesley, however, was never disclosed till Dunton published his Memoirs; and this profound secresy contributed much both to their credit and emolument.

In mentioning the name of Mr. Richard Sault, I am necessarily led to notice a work which then made a great deal of noise in the world, and since that time both noise and mischief. I mean a pamplet entitled, "The Second Spira, or a Narrative of the Death of the Hon. Fr. N——t, son to the late ——," published by John Dunton; and of which, he tells us himself, he sold *thirty*

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thousand copies in the short space of six weeks. It was republished by the late Mr. J. Wesley, in the Arminian Magazine for 1783, p. 24, &c.

The full title of this book, as printed in an advertisement at the end of No. 7, Tues. Jan. 10, 1692, of the Athenian Mercury, is the following:—

"The Second Spira, being a fearful example of an Atheist who had apostatized from the Christian Religion, and died in despair at Westminster, Dec. 8, 1692; with an exact account of his sickness, convictions, discourses with friends and ministers, and of his dreadful expressions and blasphemies when he left the world: as also a Letter from an Atheist of his acquaintance, with his answer to it. Published for an example to others, and recommended to all young persons to settle them in their religion. By J. S. Sanders, a Minister of the Church of England, a frequent visitor of him during his whole sickness. Printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry. Price 6*d*."

This was announced the preceding Saturday, Jan. 7, and on Jan. 17 the second edition is advertised in the same work. On the 24th, the third edition with the Methodizer's Apology, "Wherein is now discovered to the world, the substance of every particular that he knows of, in relation to this narrative." On Jan. 31, we find the following advertisement: "This is to give notice, that the Methodizer of the Second Spira designs no second part of that narrative, he having given the world an account of the whole relation in those sheets he has already published. This is further to give notice, that the genuine copies of the fore-mentioned Second Spira are only printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry, with an Imprimatur affixed to them." In the same work for Feb. 4, the fourth edition is adver-

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tised; and on the 7th of the same month came an apology from R. Wooley, M. A., and John Dunton, giving the reasons why they believed the account to be genuine; but these are all founded on the respectability of the author, Mr. R. Sault. I believe the pamphlet terminated in the fourth edition: a sort of supplement, by the same author, was published March 18, 1693, entitled, "A Conference betwixt a Modern Atheist and his Friend, printed in the same size with the Second Spira, that they might bind up together."

When I first saw this account, I believed it to be, what I ever thought and still think the first Francis Spira to be, a forgery; and a forgery of the most dangerous tendency, calculated only to drive weak persons, and those especially who are afflicted with morbid melancholy, into utter despair. I was ready however to grant, that if the stories were founded on any fact, the persons who were the subjects must have been in a state of derangement, as both accounts flatly contradict our Lord's assertion, "Every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened," Matt. vii. 8.

That my judgment concerning the Second Spira was not wrong, I learn from John Dunton himself; who, in the work he entitles "John Dunton's Life and Errors," published by him in 1705, and since republished by Mr. Nichols, Vol. I., p. 154, gives us the history of this work; for which it appears he had been frequently called to an account. He tells us that he received the account from the above Mr. Richard Sault, who told him that he "had received the memoirs out of which he had formed the copy, from a divine of the Church of England, named Sanders;" and he pretended to confirm the truth of it, by a letter and a preface from the same gen-

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tleman: but some suspicions were excited, as he could never give any particular account where Mr. Sanders lodged. Several clergymen who came to examine Mr. Dunton on the truth of the story, he introduced to Mr. Sault, who gave them the same relation; but took care not to commit himself by referring to names or places.

When this matter was sifted to the bottom, it was found that the story could be traced to no authentic source; and that it was wholly the contrivance of Mr. Sault; who, being a man often afflicted with morbid melancholy,* and its insupportable companion, despair of God's mercy, wrote it as a picture of his own mind.

When the original memoirs came to be examined, which Mr. Sault pretended to have received from a divine of the church of England, they were found to be in Mr. Sault's own handwriting, but disguised. Mr. Dunton therefore declared his conviction that it was a forgery of Mr. Sault, and that he had not the slightest suspicion of the imposture till after the book was printed. And this he sets down as the first of the seven articles out of six hundred, which he heartily wished he had never committed to the press; and advises all who had purchased any of them, to commit them to the fire.—P. 159.

In the second volume of his Athenianism, among the thirty-five projects therein contained, we find the following: "No. 13. The Methodizer; or Secret History of Mr. Sault, author of the Second Spira; with the Narrative of that Imaginary Wretch, and Dunton's Affidavit, clearing

* Dunton mentions his coming to his house the very picture of despair; and says, I heard several such broken speeches as these fall from him: "I am damned! I am damned!" After he was gone, Mrs. Dunton said "she was very much afraid he would do himself some mischief."

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his innocence as to any sham or fraud in publishing of that narrative."

I wish this fact to be known to all religious people, and particularly to the Methodists.

Had Mr. Wesley been acquainted with John Dunton's account of the matter, most undoubtedly he never would have given the narrative of the Second Spira a place in the Arminian Magazine.

Mr. Sault removed to Cambridge, where he was in great repute for his skill in algebra. In his last sickness, his temporal necessities were supplied by the students; but he never once mentioned Second Spira, or appeared under any terrors with respect to his future state. He died in the early part of the year 1704, and was interred at St. Andrew's Church, in Cambridge.

In the Supplement to the fifth volume there is a letter to the Athenian Society from Dean Swift, dated Moor Park, Feb. 14, 1691, accompanied with an Ode of the amazing length of 307 lines. The high sense which he entertained of the unknown conductors of this undertaking will appear from the two last verses:—

Alas, how fleeting and how vain
Is even the nobler man, our learning, and our wit,
I sigh whene'er I think of it,
As at the closing an unhappy scene
Of some great king and conqueror's death,
When the sad melancholy muse
Stays but to catch his utmost breath.
I grieve this noble work,* so happily begun,
So quickly and so wonderfully carried on,
Must fall at last to interest, folly, and abuse.
There is a noon-tide in our lives,
Which still the sooner it arrives,
Although we boast our winter sun looks bright,

* The Athenian Gazette.

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And foolishly are glad to see it at its height,
Yet so much sooner comes the long and gloomy night.
No conquest ever yet begun,
And by one mighty hero carried to its height,
E'er flourished under a successor, or a son;
It lost some mighty pieces, through all hands it past,
And vanished to an empty title in the last.
For when the animating mind is fled,
Which nature never can retain,
Nor e'er call back again,
The body, though gigantic, lies all cold and dead.

And thus undoubtedly 'twill fare
With what unhappy men shall dare
To be successors to these great unknown,
On Learning's high established throne.
Censure, and pedantry, and pride,
Numberless nations stretching far and wide,
Shall (I foresee it) soon with Gothic swarms come forth
From Ignorance's universal North,
And with blind rage break all this peaceful government;
Yet shall these traces of your wit remain
Like a just map, to tell the vast extent
Of conquest, in your short and happy reign;
And to all future mankind show
How strange a paradox is true,
That men who lived and died without a name
Are the chief heroes in the sacred list of Fame.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

I cannot exactly tell what part Mr. Wesley had in this work: but after carefully examining five of the original volumes, with their supplements, I have been led to conclude that all the questions in divinity and ancient ecclesiastical history, most of those in poetry, with many of those in natural philosophy, were answered by him. The mathematical questions were, I suppose, all answered by Mr. Sault.

All communications to the Athenian Society were

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addressed to them at Smith's Coffee-house, George Yard, Stock's Market (now called George Street), adjoining the Mansion-house, in the city. Here the members occasionally met. One day some gentlemen, in a box at the other end of the room, had in their company an officer of the guards, who swore dreadfully. Mr. Wesley saw that he could not speak to him without much difficulty; he therefore desired the waiter to bring him a glass of water. When it was brought, he said aloud, "Carry it to that gentleman in the red coat, and desire him to wash his mouth after his oaths." The officer rose up in a fury; but the gentlemen in the box laid hold of him, one of them crying out, "Nay, Colonel! you gave the first offence. You know it is an affront to swear in his presence." The officer was thus restrained, and Mr. Wesley departed. Some years afterwards, while Mr. Wesley was in London, attending convocation, on going through St. James's Park, a gentleman accosted him by an inquiry as to whether he recollected him. Mr. Wesley replied in the negative. The gentleman then recalled to his remembrance the scene at the coffee-house, and added, "Since that time, Sir, I thank God, I have feared an oath, and every thing that is offensive to the Divine Majesty: and as I have a perfect recollection of you, I rejoiced at seeing you, and could not refrain from expressing my gratitude to God and you." A word spoken in season, how good is it!

The facts related respecting his connexion with the Athenian Gazette, account for the way and means by which Mr. Wesley sustained himself, both in the university, and for some time after he left it; probably to the time in which he got the small rectory of South Ormsby. By his pen and genius he profited himself and society; and, had he not written too fast and too

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much, it would not be difficult to prove that he would not only have enriched, but adorned, all the paths of literature in which he walked. Of this we shall have ample evidences when we come to examine other productions of his pen.

It may be necessary to inform the curious reader that the old Athenian volumes being out of print, and becoming very scarce and dear, an entire collection of all the valuable questions and answers, intermixed with many cases in divinity, history, philosophy, mathematics, &c., never before published, was printed in three volumes, 8vo., 1703-4, for Andrew Bell, in Cornhill, under the title of the Athenian Oracle: to these was afterwards added a fourth volume, 1710. The second edition, as well as the first, must have had a considerable sale; as a copy before me, printed in 1728, is the third edition of this work. Dunton reckons Bell would clear above £1000 by the purchase of the copyright.

This second edition commences with a dedication, by Samuel Wesley, "To the Most Illustrious and Magnanimous Prince James, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c., and Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, &c.

"May it please your Grace,

"The Supreme Governor of the world having constituted your Grace a patron of learning as well as arms, the promoters of both think they have a natural title to your protection; this has emboldened me to lay the following sheets at your Grace's feet. The subject-matter of them is the marrow of arts and sciences, reduced into questions and answers, which have formerly met with good entertainment in the world. The rich treasures of learning they contain, and the agreeable and diverting method in which they are communicated, please and

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instruct the reader at once, without any thing of that fatigue and irksomeness that attends many and large volumes. I would not have presumed to have inscribed your Grace's illustrious name to any thing unworthy of your grandeur. And since so great a judge as the late Sir William Temple was pleased, not only to approve of the work, but to honour the Athenian Society, the authors of it, with frequent letters and curious questions, and to express his satisfaction in their answers, I hope your Grace will admit it as a good apology for my presumption in this dedication; considering that the book is now refined from every thing that was censured as mean and trifling.

Your Grace's most humble,
most affectionate,
and most devoted servant,
S. W."[ESLEY.]

No reader can peruse these volumes without profit; for although the authors submitted to answer questions of little or no importance, yet the work at large contains many things of great importance and value. When I was little more than a child, an odd volume of the Athenian Oracle, lent me by a friend, was a source of improvement and delight; and I now consult this work with double interest, knowing the well-nerved hand by which at least one-third of it was composed.

Mr. Wesley's other works shall be all examined in their order. We have already seen that Mr. Wesley had embroiled himself with the dissenters; partly by his separating from them, and partly by the publication of a letter, relative to their mode of education in their private academies. Their opposition was a source of calamity to him and his family for several years, and shall be noticed in its chronological occurrence.

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The life of a learned man may be found in the history of his works. Mr. Wesley's pen was seldom idle; and being a rapid writer, and seldom waiting to polish or refine, his works became numerous. His brother-in-law, J. Dunton, said "he used to write two hundred couplets a-day; which were too many by two-thirds to be well furnished with all the beauties and graces of that art!" And to this opinion every judge of poetry must subscribe.

We have seen him at college in 1685, issuing his juvenile poems, under the title of "Maggots;" and in 1691, &c., engaged with his brother-in-law, Dunton, and others, in the Athenian Mercury.

In 1692, there was published by the Athenian Society "The Young Student's Library; containing Extracts and Abridgments of the most valuable Books printed in England, and in the Foreign Journals, from the year 1665 to this time, 1692. To which is added a new Essay upon all sorts of Learning; wherein the use of the Sciences is distinctly treated on. London: Printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry, 1692. fol., pp. 500." In this collection are two original pieces by Mr. Wesley himself, viz., the essay mentioned above, and also "A Discourse concerning the Antiquity and Original of the Points, Vowels, and Accents that are placed to the Hebrew Bible. In two Parts. The first, wherein the opinions of Elias Levita, Ludovicus Capellus, Dr. Walton, and others, for the novelty of the Points, are considered, their evidences for the same examined, and the improbability of their conceit, that the Masoretes of Tiberias pointed the Text, is at large discovered from the silence of the Jews about it; their testimonies against it; the unfitness of the time, place, and persons of late assigned for the invention of the

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Points, from the nature of the Masora and of the Masoretic Notes on the verses, words, letters, points, vowels, and accents of the Old Testament. Their observations on all the kinds of the Keri el Ketib; the words written full or defective; the Ittur Sopherim, the Tikkun Sopherim, and the rest of the parts of the Masora; and from other considerations. In the second Part, the antiquity, divine original, and authority of the present punctuation is proved, by the testimony of Jews and Christians, the universal consent of all nations that receive the Scriptures; their quiet possession of the Text, as it is now pointed by prescription, from age to age. The vowels (an essential part of speech) oft expressed by punctuation only. The obscurity of the Scriptures without Points, which yet was commanded to be written very plainly. The Old Testament evidencing itself to be the word of God in and by the punctuation only. The anomalies thereof manifesting its antiquity. The promise of Christ, Matt. v. 18, that nothing shall be lost out of the Law and the Prophets; whereof the Points are so great a part. The manifest absurdity of the contrary opinion; and other considerations."

This Discourse occupies forty-eight folio pages, and is thus spoken of in Mr. De la Crose's Works of the Learned, in his book for January, 1692. He says, "It is written by a divine, a member of the Athenian Society, who has spent several years in the study of the Hebrew tongue, and shows a great deal of learning and piety, in maintaining the antiquity of the point-vowels against Lewis Capel and his followers; he contends they are at least as ancient as Ezra." The work under consideration is thus spoken of also by Mr. Charles Gildon: "The Young Student's Library contains the substance of above 100 volumes, most in folio; but I cannot pass

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over the original piece of the Hebrew Points, it being of that vast consequence, that on it all the Christian faith depends; for if there were no points, the certainty of Scripture is quite out of doors. It consists of thirteen sheets of paper, and bears this title [see above]. As for the performance of this divine, in this piece, the contents show that he has taken notice of all which can be raised against the opinion he defends; and the many years he has given himself to the study of the Hebrew and oriental tongues, as well as all the rabbinical learning, leave no doubt but that the performance is equal to the nobleness of the subject. And, according to my small judgment in that way, he has done it with a great deal of strength of judgment, force and evidence of argument, and profoundness of skill. It is to be wondered at, as well as complained of, that so many of our divines neglect the necessary study of the original text, in which this divine has employed several years; so great was his care and zeal for the honour of the Christian religion, and the good, not only of those souls under his charge, but also of all others who will make any improvement of his labours. And it were to be wished that the same great man would oblige the world with those other pieces of rabbinical learning which he mentions in these sheets; having, in these I now speak of, answered what has never been attempted in English."

In another place Mr. Wesley says, "If this discourse about the original of the points, vowels, and accents, find acceptance and encouragement, I intend a distinct discourse upon the sacred original text of the Old Testament, in defence of its purity and perfection, as it is now enjoyed by the Protestant church; wherein I purpose to handle all those curiosities that are the subject of critical observation about the same; being very willing

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to defend our religion, and the rule of our faith, to the uttermost of my power."

In the preface to the above work it is stated, "The author of the Hebrew Punctuation has retired into the country [South Ormsby], where his necessary business will take up a great part of his time; yet whatever letters, objections, &c., shall be sent to him about his performance, if they be directed to our bookseller, they will come to his hands; and he will, notwithstanding his business, set apart so much time as to maintain what he had advanced, and to answer all objections whatever." An apology is made for the work having been delayed by the long frost of six weeks, which hindered the printers.

In 1693, he published "The Life of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; a Heroic Poem, in ten books: dedicated to her most Sacred Majesty, Queen Mary; attempted by SAMUEL WESLEY, A. M., Rector of South Ormsby, in the county of Lincoln. Each book illustrated by necessary notes, explaining all the more difficult matters in the whole history. Also a Prefatory Discourse concerning Heroic Poetry. With sixty Copper-plates." London, printed for Charles Harper, &c. 1693, fol.

This poem must have been several years in hand; for the author, as previously stated, says he "began this work in the Irish Seas, and has since completed it in several parts of England." See his note, page 30.

> "Accept this humble verse, my life's great task;
> 'Tis all I can, and more thou wilt not ask."
>
> Book xi., p. 251, l. 265, and the note, p. 68.

The work went through a second edition in 1697, "revised and improved, with the addition of a large map of the Holy Land, and a table of the principal

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matters." The plates, though anonymous, are said in the second edition to be done "by the celebrated hand of W. Faithorn." A few of them this artist might have done; but they are in general utterly unworthy of this eminent engraver. The work is preceded by commendatory verses from Nahum Tate, poet-laureate; L. Milbourne, T. Taylor, W. Pittis, H. Cutts, and P. Motteaux.

When a poet, no matter of what abilities, takes for the subject of his verse the sayings or acts of the Almighty, as recorded in Divine Revelation, he must of necessity fail, speak untruths, and sink below himself. Who can add to the dignity, importance, or majesty of the words of God by any poetical clothing? The attempt to do it is almost impious; and in the execution, how many words are attributed to God which he never spoke, and acts which he never did! Even the prose writers of the life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ have all failed, misrepresented facts and sayings, and (undesignedly) spoke many falsities. The life of our Lord was never found, and never will be found, but in the four evangelists; and the utmost that can be done in this way is merely to harmonize their accounts. That as a theological and poetical production Mr. Wesley's Life of Christ has considerable merit, the sale of two editions of a large folio volume, in three or four years, is ample proof. And if we can give credit to the judgment and sincerity of his poetical recommenders, the work has scarcely its fellow. The poet-laureate, N. Tate, praises the work and the author to the utmost stretch of eulogium; and seems to lay his own ground-work of the Version of the Psalms at Mr. Wesley's feet, and views him as the completer of the task which Milton left unfinished.

I shall extract a few of his verses, as the book will

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rarely be found in the hands of those who are most concerned in what relates to this singular family:—

TO MR. SAMUEL WESLEY, ON HIS DIVINE POEM OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

As when some prophet, who had long retir'd,
Returns from solitude with rapture fired,
With full credentials made securely bold,
To listening crowds does charmingly unfold
What angels hymn, in awful visions told;
With wondrous truths surprising every breast,
His sacred mission is by all confest:
So you, great bard, who lay till now concealed,
Compiling what your heavenly muse revealed,
No sooner quit the shade, but strike our eyes
With wonder, and our minds with ecstacies.

E'en we, the tribe who thought ourselves inspired,
Like glimmering stars in night's dull reign admired;
Like stars, a numerous but a feeble host,
Are gladly in your morning lustre lost.
When we (and few have been so well inclined),
In songs attempted to instruct mankind,
From nature's law we all our precepts drew,
And e'en her sanctions oft perverted too;
Your sacred muse does revelation trace,
And nature is by you improved to grace.

What just encomiums, Sir, must you receive,
Who wit and piety together weave!
No altar your oblation can refuse,
Who to the temple bring a spotless muse.
You with fresh laurels, from Parnassus borne,
Plant Sion's hill, and Salem's towers adorn;
You break the charms, and from profane retreats
Restore the Muses to their native seats.
Our leading Moses* did this task pursue,
And lived to have the holy land in view;
With vigorous youth to finish the success,
Like Joshua, you succeed, and all possess.

* Mr. John Milton.

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Here pious souls, what they did long desire,
Possess their dear Redeemer's life entire:
Here, with whole Paradise Regained they meet,
And Milton's noble work is now complete.

The rest of the poem is in the same style of eulogium; and I have quoted so much to show what was thought of the "Life of Christ" by no mean judges, when it first appeared. Posterity has not been so partial to the bard of Epworth.*

It is said that Mr. Pope had such a despicable opinion of this poem, and the other poetical works of Mr. Wesley, that in one of the earlier editions of the Dunciad he honoured him with a niche in the temple of the "Mighty Mother" (Dulness). He was placed by the side of a respectable companion, Dr. Watts:—

"Now all the suffering brotherhood retire,
And 'scape the martyrdom of jakes and fire:
A Gothic library of Greece and Rome,
Well purged, and worthy *Wesley*, *Watts*, and *Brome*."

It is a fact, that in no edition published by Mr. Pope did these names ever occur. In one surreptitious edition they were printed thus: W—l—y, W—s, in book i., l. 126. But in the genuine editions of that work the line stood thus, as it does at present:—

"Well purged, and worthy *Withers*, Quarles, and Blome."

And this, in the London edition of 1729, is said to be the line as it stood in the original.

That Mr. Pope had too high an opinion of Mr. Samuel Wesley, to make such a dishonourable insertion

* He did not escape censure in his own day. Dunton describes this poem as "intolerably dull;" and says, "as often as I take it up, it rather jades than gives life to my fancy."—EDITOR.

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of his name in the Dunciad, there can be no doubt: he revered him for his piety, learning, and industry. There was even an intimacy between them; and Mr. Pope had such a high opinion of his learning and moral worth, that he earnestly endeavoured to serve him. This will be particularly evident from a letter which he wrote to Dean Swift, entreating him to use his influence with the clergy of his acquaintance, to get subscriptions for Mr. Wesley's Dissertations on the Book of Job. I shall give an extract of this epistle, which cannot fail to set the matter in the clearest point of view:—

——"This is a letter extraordinary, to do and to say nothing, but to recommend to you (as a clergyman and a charitable one) a pious and a good work, and for a good and honest man. Moreover, he is about seventy, and poor, which you might think included in the word honest. I shall think it a kindness done to myself if you can propagate Mr. Wesley's subscription for his "Commentary on Job" among your divines (bishops excepted, of whom there is no hope), and among such as are believers or readers of the Scriptures. Even the curious may find something to please them, if they scorn to be edified. It has been the labour of eight years of this learned man's life: I call him what he is, a learned man; and I engage you will approve his prose more than you formerly did his poetry. Lord Bolingbroke is a favourer of it, and allows you to do your best to serve an old Tory,* and a sufferer for the Church of England, though you are a Whig, as I am." April 12th, 1730.

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* The epithets of Whig and Tory do not apply so appropriately to many of the most eminent of the clergy, between the years 1661 and 1748, as persons are apt to imagine, who, from mere report or

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In the above words, "I engage you will approve his prose more than you formerly did his poetry," Mr. Pope refers to Dean Swift's "Battle of the Books," in which are these words:—"Then Homer slew Sam. Wesley with a kick of his horse's heel." But this can be no discredit to Mr. Wesley; for many of our best English writers have been mentioned with disrespect in that work. Mr. Wesley spoke of his own performance with much modesty. "The cuts are good, the notes pretty good, the verses so so." And of it his eldest son Samuel spoke with sober commendation:—

> Whate'er his strains, still glorious was his end,
> Faith to assert, and virtue to defend.
> He sung how God the Saviour deigned to expire,*
> With Vida's piety, though not his fire;
> Deduced his Maker's praise from page to page,
> Through the long annals of the sacred page.†

What was of most consequence to him, it was highly approved of by Queen Mary, to whom it was dedicated; who conferred on him the living of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, which, like that of South Ormsby, was "proffered and given, without his ever having solicited any person;

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popular prejudice, accustom themselves to deal them out against certain individuals. Let such persons try to class Sancroft, Atterbury, Tenison, Wake, and some others—not according to the political principles of those ministers of state who happened successively to be in power after their elevation to the episcopal dignity, but according to their own private opinions recorded in their writings—and they will find some difficulty involved in the attempt. If the reader will turn to pp. 812—815 of "Calvinism and Arminianism Compared," by Mr. James Nichols, he will perceive the application of this difficulty to the rector of Epworth, and will be amply rewarded for his trouble.

* Life of Christ.

† History of the Old and New Testaments.

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without his ever expecting, or even once thinking, of such a favour."—*Answer to Palmer*, p. 3. And speaking again on the same subject, in defence of his poem, he adds, "I can assure him, I agree so far with those best judges he mentions, that I know it is very faulty:* but whether it be in itself so absolutely contemptible as he represents it, I desire may be left to more impartial judges. All I can say is, it was the best I had. I ran as the peasant did, with my hands full of water, and offered it to my prince, because I had no better present;† and if it was not so clear as it should have been, I hope that the haste will in some measure excuse it. Though there may be some parts of that poem, of which, I hope, I might say without vanity, neither myself nor my country have reason to be ashamed, yet I am as ready to acknowledge, as he and his friends are to assert, that the

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* Mr. John Wesley observes, in a letter to a friend, "In my father's poem on the 'Life of Christ' there are many excellent lines; but they must be taken in connexion with the rest. It would not be at all proper to print them alone." That he valued his father's poetry so much as to induce him to treasure portions of it up in his memory, appears from his correspondence. "Where," he inquires of Charles, "is your Elegy? You may say, as my father in his verses on Mr. Nelson—

> 'Let friendship's sacred name excuse
> The last effort of an expiring muse.'"

Works, vol. xii., pp. 304, 141.—EDITOR.

† There is an allusion to the story of Artaxerxes and Sinetas, told by Ælian, and reported at large in "Painter's Palace of Pleasure," Vol. I., Novel ix.:— There was a certain Persian, called Sinetas, that, far from his own house, met king Artaxerxes, and had not wherewithal to present him: wherefore the poor man, because he would not neglect his duty, ran to a river called Cyrus, and taking both his hands full of water, spake to the king on this wise: "I beseech God that your majesty may evermore reign

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favours which our late blessed queen was pleased to bestow on me, after she had read my book, were as far beyond my expectation as my desert. They will not, however envy me the honour of having scattered a few verses, and more tears, over her grave."—*Ibid.*, p. 56.

The queen died Dec. 28th, 1694. "With a deep sense of religion upon her mind," says Burnet, "she lent all her influence to its support; and, rising above the narrow prejudices that actuated too many of its professors, she was for drawing Christians together by the cords of love, rather than for binding them in the chains of an ecclesiastical uniformity. As the legal guardian of the Church of England, the management of which the king devolved entirely upon her, she discovered much wisdom and prudence; filling up the preferments at her disposal with men of moderate principles, who were devoted to the duties of their profession. In these concerns, Tillotson, the most amiable of prelates, was her chief confidant; and had their lives been prolonged but a few years, the church would have been spared the disgrace that was heaped upon her by the furious spirits in the next reign.

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among us! As occasion of the place, and mine ability at this instant serveth, I am come to honour your majesty, to the intent you may not pass without some present, for which cause I give unto you this water. But if your grace had once encamped yourself, I would go home to my house for the best and dearest things I have; and peradventure the same shall not be much inferior to the gifts which others do now give you." Artaxerxes, delighted with this act, said unto him, "Good fellow, I thank thee for this present; the same is as acceptable to me as the best gift in the world: First, Because water is the best of all things; Secondly, Because the river out of which thou didst take it is called Cyrus. Wherefore I command thee to come before me when I am at my camp." And he ordered his eunuchs to take the water, and put it in a cup of gold, &c.

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The death of Tillotson, which happened about five weeks before that of the queen, was a most serious loss both to the church and the nation." In the beginning of March, 1695, Mr. Wesley published his "Elegies on Queen Mary, and on Archbishop Tillotson," eight sheets folio, both written in the highest strains of eulogy. In that on the queen, he represents the martyr Charles stooping from heaven to receive her thither; and Palmer sarcastically adds, "he could do no less than pay this piece of ceremony, and regale her in the highest manner for taking possession of her father's throne, and filling it better than he did himself." The queen's character may be seen in stanza X.:—

Sure she was formed by Heaven to show
What undissembled piety could do,
To what a height religion might be raised;
(She hears not now, and therefore may be praised)
Would Virtue take a shape, she'd choose to appear,
And think, and speak, and dress, and live like her.
Zeal without heat, devotion without pride,
Work without noise, did all her hours divide;
Wit without trifling, prudence without guile,
Pure faith, which no false reasonings e'er could spoil,
With her, secured and blest our happy Isle.
One harsh, old-fashioned truth to court she brought,
And made it there almost believed again;
Her practice showed her judgment thought,
That princes must be saved like other men.
No single world could her great soul employ,
Earth her diversion was, but heaven her joy.
If ought with that her thoughts could share,
'Twas her ungrateful subjects' care.
Our hovering fate she saw, and stepped between,
Deserving all her great forefathers claimed,
The Faith's Defender more than named,
More than in title the MOST CHRISTIAN QUEEN.

Elegy, p. 8, ver. xii.

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Great and good as both the queen and the archbishop were, both the characters are sadly overdrawn, and their praises are extended even beyond poetic license. But the poems cannot bear the imputation of flattery, as both the sovereign and the prelate were dead, and none succeeded them who were at all likely to show favour to the poet of Axholme.

These, and some other of his early productions, excited the ridicule of the wits, and made him the subject of such an occasional squib as the following, of Dunton's:

> "Poor harmless Wesley, let him write again;
> Be pitied in his old heroic strain;
> Let him in reams proclaim himself a dunce,
> And break a dozen stationers at once."

His son, Samuel Wesley, very fairly retorted upon him in the poem, entitled, "Neck or Nothing," when he put the following lines into Dunton's mouth:—

> "Have I alone obliged the press,
> With fifteen hundred treatises,
> Printers and stationers undone—
> A plagiary in every one?"
>
> 12mo. edit., p. 261.

In Carlisle's "Topographical Dictionary," the rectory of Epworth is said to be valued in the king's books at £28. 16*s.* 8*d.* The parish contains 5500 acres, and the church is dedicated to St. Andrew. Mr. Wesley, speaking of the whole Isle of Axholme, states the population to be near 10,000, "among whom," says he, "there is but one presbyterian, and one papist to balance him."

In 1698, Mr. Wesley published "A Sermon preached before the Society for the Reformation of Manners," 8vo. This also I have not seen.

Since the first edition of these Memoirs was published, I have met with the printed "Letter concerning the Re-

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ligious Societies," written in 1699, and also an original letter in the hand-writing of Archbishop Sharp, which, both from the subject and the date, is supposed by some to have been written to Mr. Wesley. I had intended to have given only the substance of Mr. Wesley's letter; but, upon a review of it, I think the document so important, that I am sure my readers will be thankful to have the whole of it introduced. It is an able and satisfactory defence of the societies which were afterwards formed by his excellent sons, the Rev. John and Charles Wesley. The letter appears at first to have been addressed to a private individual, and afterwards printed for the benefit of the public. It is as follows:—

A LETTER CONCERNING THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

"Sir,

"Having in conversation accidentally mentioned those religious societies which have been for some time erected in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and of late in some other places, you were pleased to desire a more particular account concerning them, of their orders and manner of life, and what my thoughts were as to what we then heard objected against them.

"I must confess I have had the curiosity to make a particular inquiry about them, and the informations I have received have been from such persons as I think I may entirely depend upon for the truth of them, and what I have from them I here very briefly give you, referring them for a longer account to Mr. Woodward's little book on that subject.

"In the first place, I find many persons are in the same mistake which you were once in, and confound these religious societies with the societies for reformation, though they are quite different as to their institution and imme-

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diate ends, and for the most part, as to the persons of which they are composed. The immediate business of the societies for reformation is, to assist the civil magistrates in putting the laws in execution against profaneness and immorality, and consist of sober persons of any persuasion among protestants, though most of them, as far as I can observe, of the Church of England; but religious societies, as we call them for distinction from the other, are composed of such as meet together wholly upon a religious account, to promote true piety in themselves and others, and are all of them strict members of the Church of England, none being admitted or suffered to continue, who are not constant communicants: many of these, indeed, are likewise engaged in the business of the reformation, and so on the other side; but this is only accidental, and these two are distinct bodies of men one from the other.

"I cannot tell whether I can give you a better character of those persons who compose these religious societies, and their design and employment in them, than what Tertullian and other ancient writers have left us of the first Christians, in the best and purest ages of the church: I am sure I cannot speak more truth of them in fewer words.

"'They often meet together,' say the ancients of those first Christians, 'ad confœderandam disciplinam; and to pray and sing hymns to Christ as God.' 'We assemble ourselves,' says Tertullian, 'to the repetition of the Holy Scriptures; we support our faith by religious discourse; we excite our hope, we fix our confidence, we increase our knowledge, by the exhortations of our teachers; we gather a stock for the poor according to every man's ability, which we expend, not in riotous feasting, but in helping the indigent, and orphans, and

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aged, and those who are persecuted for the cause of God.'

"This is their design and employment in their meetings; and for the methods whereby they regulate them, they appear to be chosen with all Christian prudence; but they are too large to be here inserted, and therefore I must again refer you to Mr. Woodward's book for a full account of them.

"The main thing for which I am concerned, is to give you my reasons why I believe such societies as these, if further propagated, would be so far from being any injury to the church, as may be the opinion of some persons who either may not fully understand them, or are prejudiced against them, that I think I can make it appear they would be of great advantage to it.

"I know few good men but lament that, after the destruction of monasteries, there were not some societies founded in their stead, but reformed from their errors, and reduced to the primitive standard. None who have but looked into our own church history can be ignorant how highly instrumental such bodies of men as these were to the first planting and propagating Christianity amongst our forefathers. 'Tis notorious that the first monks wrought honestly for their livings, and only met together at the hours of prayer, and necessary refection, as do most of those in the eastern countries to this day: and those who read the exemplary piety of the old British monks, and what indefatigable pains they took, and what hazards they ran, in the conversion of our heathen ancestors, as well as how stoutly they withstood the early encroachments of Rome, cannot but entertain an extraordinary opinion of them, and will be apt to judge charitably of their great austerities and ascetic way of living, though, perhaps, we may be in the right,

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when we think they were in some things mistaken. However, this is certain, that a great part of the good effects of that way of life may be attained without many of the inconveniences of it, by such societies as we are now discoursing of, which may be erected in the most populous towns and cities, without depriving the commonwealth of the service and support of so many useful members.

"It will be owned a desirable thing that we had among us some places wherein those who are religiously disposed might have the liberty for a time of a voluntary retirement; that they might escape the world, and *vacare Deo et sibimet ipsis*. This was once practised, with great applause of all good men, by Mr. Farrar, of which we have an account in Mr. Herberts's life, and a larger (as I have heard) in Bishop Hacket's life of Bishop Williams; and the same has been lately attempted by Mr. S——. But if this should not be practicable, at least generally, by men of trade and business, though of never so devout inclinations, I see nothing that could come nearer it than these religious societies. The design of that excellent person, Archbishop Cranmer, to have founded so many collegiate churches out of the broken monasteries, to consist of some laity, as well as clergy, seems to have had something in it of the same nature (though in a higher degree) with that of these Christian societies now erected, namely, to make a stand for religion and virtue, so many redoubts against an encroaching world, where any might receive counsel and advice, who addressed themselves unto them; but since we were not so happy to have this accomplished, why may not these societies in some measure supply the want of them? For if they were once erected in the most considerable towns and populous villages, or, where one was

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not large enough, out of more neighbouring villages united, they might be able notably to assist the rural deans, where there are any, and in some measure supply their want where there are none: and would not this disarm that objection against diocesan episcopacy, which is brought from the extent of its jurisdiction?

"However, if this be ultra crepidam, it is certain that this would hold of parish priests, and they would, as some have already done, soon find extraordinary advantages by it. There are a great many parishes in this kingdom, which consist of several thousands, some of some myriads of souls: now, what one man, or two, or three, is sufficient for such a multitude? what strength to visit them? what memory, unless very extraordinary, to retain but their names? Those who have but one or two thousand, will find their cares heavy enough, especially now they have neither the catechists of the ancients to assist them, nor those clerks which are mentioned in the Rubrick, and seem to have been designed for that end, at the reformation: and may not we say of these great numbers, as the disciples did to our Saviour when they saw the multitude, From whence shall we buy bread that these may eat? But would not these things be rendered much more easy to the careful pastor, when such considerable bodies should act [in subornation to him, and with direction from him,] to promote those great ends, for which he has so solemnly dedicated himself to God? They would be as so many churchwardens, or overseers, or almost deacons under him, caring for the sick and poor, giving him an account of the spiritual estate of themselves and others; persuading parents and sureties to catechise their children, and fitting them for confirmation; discoursing with those who have already left the church, to bring them back to it, or who are tempted to

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leave it, in order to preserve them in it; the effect whereof we may guess by the contrary, there being, it is likely, ten who are persuaded to leave the church by their neighbours, to one who is immediately wrought upon by the dissenting teachers. This assistance would in all probability conduce as much to the health of the minister's body, by easing him of many a weary step and fruitless journey, as to the great satisfaction of his mind, in the visible success of his labours. In short, it seems a necessary consequence, both from what success the design has already had, and from the very nature of it, that, if it went forward in such manner and with such limitations as are proposed, it would be so far from injuring the church, that these several societies would be so many new bulwarks against its enemies, would give it daily more strength, and beauty, and reputation, and, it may be, more than many wish to see it ever have.

"And for the state, they might also be not inconsiderably serviceable to it, and highly promote loyalty and obedience, as well as all other parts of religion and virtue.

"There is hardly any considerable design but may be carried with much greater success by united bodies of men than by single persons. We see it in trades every day; and why should we not learn from those who are wise in their generation? We see what a wide progress heresy and infidelity have made by their poisonous clubs and combinations: the very players are formed into companies, or they could not be half so mischievous to religion and morality. The Church of Rome owes, perhaps, her very subsistence, at least most of the progress she has made of late years, to those several societies she nourishes in her bosom: why may we not learn from

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enemies? and what better way than to fight with their own weapons? at least, why may not we have congregations to propagate good manners, as they have one to propagate their ill faith?

"Nay, it must be owned there have been some devout persons among them, who, by this very method of forming lesser religious societies in towns and villages, as well as the greater cities, have done great things towards the reformation of manners, and promoting piety and virtue. The noble and pious Monsieur de Renty, in France, was of the number: he employed much of his time in this happy exercise, particularly at Caen, where he settled many societies of devout persons, to meet weekly, and consult about the relief of the poor, and preventing offences against God, which succeeded to admiration: he did the same among tradesmen, both at Paris and Tolouse, whom he brought constantly to go to prayers, sing psalms, read books of devotion, and discourse of their spiritual concerns one with another; and used all his interest with gentlemen of his acquaintance to erect petty societies of the same nature even in lesser villages, where they had any influence over the inhabitants. And why should we not transplant any excellent fruit into our own soil, and get all the good we can from persons of all communions?

"Public assemblies in the church, though constantly and devoutly attended by the members of these societies, yet must be owned to be improper, on several accounts, for those excellent ends which they propose in their stated meetings. 'Tis not there proper to discourse of many things which fall under their care, nor is there any room for Christian conversation, if it were decent to practise it. Pious discourse must be owned as necessary as it is a delightful employment to all good Christians;

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and yet what more generally and shamefully neglected, and even by the accursed rules of civility exploded out of the world? This practice, that late excellent person, Dr. Goodman, has endeavoured to retrieve, and has recommended it in so charming a manner in his Winter-evening Conference, that he would not have failed of making many converts to it, had there been virtue enough left in the world to make use of his directions. Now, if this religious discourse be lawful and commendable where it is accidental, or among a few persons only, I would fain to know how it should come to be otherwise, when it is stated and regulated, and among a greater number? Is it any more a conventicle than any other meetings? Is there any law that it offends against? Is it any greater crime to meet and sing psalms together, than to sing profane songs, or waste hours in impertinent chat or drinking? Indeed, one would almost wonder how a design of this nature should come to have any enemies; nor can I see any reason why good men should be discouraged from joining in it by those hard words, faction, singularity, and the like, when all possible care is taken to give no just offence in the management of it.

"The design of these societies, as I am satisfied by considering the first founder, and the encouragers of them, and their rules as well as practice, is, by no means to gather churches out of churches, to foment new schisms and divisions, and to make heathens of all the rest of their Christian brethren; which would be as indefensible in itself, as dangerous and fatal in its consequences, both to themselves and others: so far are they from this, that they have brought back several to the church who were divided from it; but their aim is purely and only to promote, in a regular manner, that which is the end

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of every Christian, the glory of God, included in the welfare and salvation of themselves and their neighbours; and if any rational method could be proposed, besides those they have already pitched upon, to guard against these possible inconveniences, there is no doubt but they would embrace it. Though, after all, how there can possibly be any occasion of schism, any crevice for it to creep in at, where nothing is done but in subordination to the lawful ministry, and by direction from it, and where one of the very bonds of the society is the constant frequenting of public prayers and communions, while on the other side there is no visible private interest to serve, no faction to flatter or humour, I must confess I am not sharp-sighted enough to discern, and dare challenge any instance of a schism anywhere occasioned, in such circumstances, ever since the birth of Christianity.

"It cannot be denied but that there may and will be some persons in these societies of more heat than light, more zeal and warmth than judgment and discretion; but where was ever any body of men without some of such a character? They are of like passions with other men, and why may not they expect the same allowances? But since the very rules of their institution do strictly oblige them to the practice of humility and charity, and to avoid censoriousness and spiritual pride, the common rocks of those who make a more than ordinary profession of religion, I see not what human prudence can provide any farther in this matter.

"I had like to have forgot one considerable advantage of these religious societies, if they should once come to be more common amongst us; and that is, that out of them it would be easy to form societies for reformation; for persons must be first truly and deeply con-

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cerned for religion themselves, before they are likely to be so concerned for others as to be willing to sacrifice all to make them better. That there is need of a general reformation of manners has not been denied even by those who have had the most need of it themselves; and that the governors, both in church and state, do most earnestly desire it, we can no less doubt, without the highest affront to both, when they have, by so many repeated acts, solemnly declared as much to the nation. That a firm combination of good men is the best way to bring this design to a good issue, we may more than guess by what has been already done by such methods; and for all the objections which have been brought against those who have embarked in this pious and generous undertaking, I believe there is no unprejudiced person who has read the Right Reverend Bishop of Gloucester's defence of them, but are fully satisfied that they have but very little weight, and are there fairly answered. And as it is known that the late archbishop was a hearty friend of them and their design, so his most reverend successor has given them a just and noble commendation in his letter to the bishops of his province; wherein he requires them 'to press the clergy of their respective dioceses to invite their churchwardens, and other pious persons among the laity, to join with them in carrying on the reformation of manners.' After which, he adds, 'We may very reasonably expect the happy effects of such a concurrence, from the visible success of that noble zeal wherewith so many about the great cities do promote true piety and a reformation of manners.' Thus far our most reverend metropolitan: and since that time, the same design has been publicly espoused and recommended by several others of the

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highest character. And, indeed, if the general reformation of men's manners be ever effected by the terror of the laws without execution, or those laws be ever effectually executed by the straggling endeavours of a few good men, who charge singly against such infernal hosts of infidelity and lewdness,—if any thing considerable herein be accomplished, unless by such a combination, I shall own myself happily mistaken; but whether I am or no, the event will teach posterity. I shall conclude this long letter with the remarkable words of the excellent author of the Whole Duty of Man, in his Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety, at the close of the Twentieth Chapter.

"'That scandal,' says he, 'which we have brought upon our religion, as it was not contracted by the irregularities of one or two persons, but by associated and common crimes, so neither will it be removed by a few single and private reformations. There must be combinations and public confederacies in virtue, to balance and counterpoise those of vice, or they will never recover that honour which she acquired by the general piety of her professors.' He goes on: 'In those primitive days, there was such an abhorrence of all that was ill, that a vicious person was looked upon as a kind of monster or prodigy, and like a putrified member cut off, as being not only dangerous, but noisome to the body: but, alas, the scene is so changed, that the church is now made up of such as she would then have cast out; and 'tis now as remarkable an occurrence to find a good Christian as it was then to see a bad.

"I shall add no more, but that it was well the worthy author concealed his name, when he published such disobliging truths; at least, if he had been now living, he

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would scarce have escaped the censure of forwardness, and a zeal not according to knowledge.

"Sir,

"I am your obliged friend,

"SAMUEL WESLEY."

The letter of Archbishop Sharp, to which reference has been made, is as follows:—

"Rev. Sir,

"I had the favour of yours, which that I did not answer sooner you might impute to the many affairs of sundry kinds (some of them small enough but unavoidable), which do still take up our time.

"It is a nice case you write about, and I dare not take upon me to give any directions in it.

"I myself have always been averse to such sort of confederacies or combinations, whether of clergy or others, as are now on foot everywhere, whether they be those called religious societies, or those of a later standing, which go under the name of Societies for Reformation; as doubting whether they be legal in themselves (though, with submission, I think it may bear a dispute whether they come under those conventicles that are forbid in the 12th and 73rd canons), and apprehending, likewise, that some time or other we may feel ill consequences from them. And for these reasons I refused my subscription the last year to that book which was writ for the recommending these societies, though I was earnestly, by letters from two of the bishops, pressed to join my hand with theirs.

"But though these be my private sentiments, I find many of the bishops of another mind. Some of them look upon these societies for reformation to be of mighty use. And considering how remiss the magistrates gene-

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rally are in executing the laws against profaneness and immorality, they think there is no other way to retrieve that zeal for religion which is every where lost among us, and to promote a reformation of manners, but by such a joint endeavour of well-disposed persons; and accordingly they do what they can to promote societies in their respective dioceses. Others of the bishops go not so far, but content themselves to endeavour the regulating and keeping them within bounds when they are voluntarily entered into.

"The truth is, the societies of London have been so industrious in spreading their books, and the success they have had (as they say) in this way has made such a noise every where, that the whole nation almost hath taken the alarm. And so eagerly in many places are the minds of the people set upon these new methods, that it may justly be doubted whether it be in the bishop's power to stifle or suppress these societies, though he should use his utmost endeavours to do it.

"Add to this that many of the clergy take encouragement to enter into these societies from a passage of my Lord of Canterbury's Circular Letter, which was sent the last year to the bishops of his province, though it is certain in that passage he did not intend the setting up such formal associations, under rules and articles, as are now formed in many places. The passage is in the fourth paragraph of the letter, where he says, 'It were to be wished, that the clergy of every neighbourhood would agree upon frequent meetings to consult for the good of religion, &c. * * * And these meetings might still be made a greater advantage to the clergy in carrying on the reformation of men's lives and manners, by inviting the churchwardens of their several parishes, and other pious persons among the laity, to join with them in the

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execution of the most probable methods that can be suggested for those good ends. And we may very reasonably expect the happy effects of such a consequence, from the visible success of that noble zeal wherewith so many about the cities of London and Westminster do promote true piety,' &c.

"I have transcribed thus much out of that printed letter for fear you should not have it by you.

"Upon these considerations I am thus far come into these projects, that I tell my clergy, when any of them apply to me about this matter (as very lately some of them have done), that as for their meeting together, as they have convenience of neighbourhood, for the promoting religion and reformation in their parishes, it is a thing I would advise them to; but as to the societies for reformation that are now on foot in several places, they are new things, and for which there is no foundation in our laws and canons, and we do not know what consequences they may in time produce; and therefore I dare not be the author or adviser to any one, either clergyman or layman, to embark in these projects. Nevertheless, being sensible that a great many wise and good men do approve of these societies, I will not think the worse of any man for engaging in them, nor shall these societies meet with any discouragement from me, so long as they keep within the bounds which the laws of the land and of the church have prescribed.

"Letters to this effect I have writ to some of my clergy, who consulted me. But I must confess, I came not to this degree of compliance but after a great deal of discourse with several of the bishops. What my Lord Bishop of Carlisle will think fit to do in the present case of the chancellor, must be left to his own prudence, which I know is very great. I must confess, I dare not

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advise him: only this I believe I may say, that I think he will have gained a good point if he can prevail with Mr. Chancellor to quit his dissenting associates. And if he be resolved on a society for reformation, let only such be taken into it as are hearty churchmen.

"I beg my hearty service to his lordship, with abundance of good wishes of his long life and happiness. The same be pleased to accept yourself, from,

"Sir,

"Your very affectionate servant,

"*Feb.* 27, 1699." "Jo. EBOR."

"I send you herewith a print, which I received out of my diocese, abundance of them being sent down thither."*

As the foregoing letters advert to the societies for

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* That the archbishop's letter refers to the "religious societies" advocated by the rector of Epworth, is not to be disputed; but that the letter was addressed to Mr. Wesley in reply to his remarks upon them, is matter of doubt. Had the *date* been affixed to Mr. Wesley's letter, and the *address* been appended to that of the archbishop, it would have been more satisfactory. 1. The manner in which the archbishop opens his letter shows that it is a reply to a "*case*" submitted for consideration, rather than a fair and formal discussion of the subject of Mr. Wesley's epistle. 2. His lordship speaks of numerous references to him on the same topics; and this, among others, might be intended to show the applicant how to act, who appears to have been more in suspense than Mr. W.; the latter, in fact, being decided on the subject. 3. In the archbishop's letter, his correspondent is referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Circular, lest he should *not have it by him*; whereas Mr. Wesley quotes from the same letter, which is evidence of his having it in his possession. 4. The archbishop requests his "hearty service to his lordship, with abundance of good wishes," intimating the letter, to which he gives the reply, to be as closely connected with the *palace* or the *castle*, as with the *rectory*.—EDITOR.

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reformation, I would just remark, that the late Rev. John Wesley preached a sermon before the Society for the Reformation of Manners, to the early editions of which he appended the following:—"N. B. After this society had subsisted several years, and done unspeakable good, it was wholly destroyed by a verdict given against it in the Court of King's Bench, with three hundred pounds damages. I doubt a severe account remains for the witnesses, the jury, and all who were concerned in that dreadful affair."

The next in point of time is, "The Pious Communicant rightly prepared; or a Discourse concerning the Blessed Sacrament;" wherein the nature of it is described, our obligation to frequent communion enforced, and directions given for due preparation for it, behaviour at and after it, and profiting by it. With prayers and hymns suited to the several parts of that holy office. To which is added, "A short Discourse of Baptism. By Samuel Wesley, A. M., Chaplain to the most honourable John Lord Marquis of Normanby, and rector of Epworth, in the diocese of Lincoln." London, printed for Charles Harper, 1700, 12mo., upwards of 280 pages, including preface.

To this work was annexed a double appendix; of which, in the preface, he speaks thus:—"The former relating to our religious societies, whose rules and orders have been published and defended by Dr. Woodward in his late book upon the subject, and my Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells in the life of Dr. Horneck: their whole design appeared to me to be so highly serviceable to Christianity, that I could not but take this opportunity to recommend them. And the latter [Appendix], which relates to baptism, will be granted not unnecessary, when several (I hope) well-meaning persons, especially in those

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parts where I live, are unsatisfied about it. Likewise, I have added the great Hallel, or paschal hymn, which was usually sung by the Jews at their passover, and by our Saviour and his apostles at the institution of this sacrament."

In this work I find very little to praise besides the pious intention. It has the general character, and indeed the faults, of those works generally termed "The Week's Preparation before the Sacrament," which are all infinitely below what any one may find in the Communion Service, in the Book of Common Prayer. The arguments in this work are neither happily chosen, nor conclusive; and the objections not well answered. It is the most imperfect of all the literary works of the rector of Epworth, which I have seen.

The great Hallel, or paschal hymn, which Mr. Wesley has appended, had its name from the word הללויה *hallelujah*, "Praise ye Jehovah;" and consisted of the following psalms: cxiii., civ., cxv., cxvi., cxvii., and cxviii. These six psalms were always sung at every paschal solemnity; and this great Hallel they sung on account of the five great benefits referred to in it. 1. The exodus from Egypt, Psalm cxiv. 1: "When Israel went out of Egypt," &c. 2. The miraculous division of the Red Sea, ver. 3: "The sea saw it, and fled." 3. The promulgation of the law, ver. 4: "The mountains skipped like rams." 4. The resurrection of the dead, Psalm cxvi.: "I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living." 5. The passion of the Messiah, Psalm cxv. 1: "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us," &c.

Why should not these psalms be said or sung at every sacramental occasion? Is not the example of our Lord and his apostles a sufficient warrant? And would not this circumstance bring us a little nearer to the primitive

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form of celebration? The psalms themselves are highly excellent; and many parts of them peculiarly appropriate.

I shall conclude my observations by introducing Psalm cxvi., as a specimen of these paschal hymns, as versified by the rector of Epworth:—

1. O God, who when I did complain
Did all my griefs remove;
O Saviour, do not now disdain
My humble praise and love!

2. Since thou a gentle ear didst give
And hear me when I prayed,
I'll call upon thee while I live,
And never doubt thine aid.

3. Pale Death, with all his ghastly train,
My soul encompassed round;
Anguish, and woe, and hellish pain,
Too soon, alas! I found.

4. Then to the Lord of life I prayed,
And did for succour flee:
O save in my distress, I said,
The soul that trusts in thee!

5, 6. How good and just! how large his grace!
How easy to forgive!
The simple he delights to raise,
And by his love I live.

7. Then, O my soul, be still, nor more
With anxious thoughts distressed!
God's bounteous love does thee restore
To wonted ease and rest.

8, 9. My eyes no longer drowned in tears,
My feet from stumbling free,
Redeemed from death and deadly fears,
O Lord, I'll live to thee.

10. When nearest pressed, I still believed,
11. Still gloried in thy aid;
Though when by faithless men deceived,
All, all are false, I said.

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12. To him what offerings shall I make,
Whence my salvation came?
The cup of blessing* now I'll take,
13. And call upon his name.
14. Those vows which in my greatest straits
Unto the Lord I made,
Shall now be at his temple gates,
Before his people, paid.
15. That life which thou, O Lord, didst save,
From raging tyrants free,
16. That ransomed life thy bounty gave,
I dedicate to thee.
17. My heart and voice at once I'll raise,
Thy goodness to proclaim;
With loud and grateful songs† of praise,
I'll call upon thy name.
18. Yes, all those vows which in my straits
Unto the Lord I made,
Shall now be at his temple gates,
Before his people, paid.
19. His priests shall mix their hymns with mine,
His goodness to record;
And all Jerusalem shall join,
With me, to praise the Lord.

His next publication was, "An Epistle to a Friend concerning Poetry." London, printed for Charles Harper, 1700. 32 pp. folio. It is a poem containing nearly eleven hundred lines. In this production he shows considerable knowledge of his subject, of which he takes a comprehensive view. It contains several excellent verses, but, like most of his other productions, appears to have been written in great haste, and not to have been revised with sufficient care and attention. In the preface he

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* Ποτήριον σωτηρίου. † Θυσία αἰνέσεως.

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states its design, and mentions, with considerable emotion, the strong tendency to infidel principles which then prevailed in the minds of several literary men. This preface furnishes additional evidence of the low state of religion in the country, before his two excellent sons, and coadjutor, Whitfield, entered upon their ministerial labours. He observes: "The direct design of a great part of this poem is to serve the cause of religion and virtue; for I cannot, with patience, see my country ruined by the prodigious increase of infidelity and immorality, nor forbear crying out with some vehemence, when I am giving warning to all honest men to stand up in the defence of it, when it is in greater and more imminent danger than it was formerly from the Spanish Armada. If things go on as they now are, we are in a fair way to become a nation of atheists. It is now no difficult matter to meet with those who pretend to be lewd upon principle. They attack religion in form, and would turn the very Scriptures against themselves, and labour hard to remove a Supreme Being out of the world; or if they do vouchsafe him any room in it, it is only that they may find fault with his works, which they think, with that blasphemer of old, might have been much better ordered, had they themselves stood by and directed the architect. They will tell you the errors of nature are everywhere plain and visible; or as one of their own poets:

'Here she's too sparing, there profusely vain.'

What would these men have, or why cannot they be content to sink single into the bottomless gulf, without dragging so much company with them? Can they grapple Omnipotence, or thunder with a voice like God? Could they annihilate hell indeed, they might be tolerably happy,

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more quietly rake through the world, and sink into nothing. The cowards will not believe a God, because they dare not; for woe be to them if there be one, and consequently any future punishments! From such as these I desire no favour, but that of their ill word; as their crimes must expect none from me, whose character obliges me to declare an eternal war against vice and infidelity, though at the same time heartily to pity those who are infected with it. If I could be ambitious of a name in the world, it should be that I might sacrifice it in so glorious a cause as that of religion and virtue. If none but generals must fight in this sacred war, when there are such infernal hosts on the other side, they could never prevail without one of the ancient miracles. If little people* can but discharge the place of a private sentinel, it is all that is expected from us. I hope I shall never let the enemies of God and my country come on without firing, though it were but to give the alarm; and if I die without quitting my post, I desire no greater glory. I had no personal pique against any whose characters I may have given in this poem, nor think the worse of them for their thoughts of me. I hope I have everywhere done them justice, and, as well as I could, have given them commendation where they deserve it."

The following lines are a fair specimen of our author's manner in this poetical production. They exhibit a correct view of the style and manner of two of our most celebrated and ancient bards:—

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* Samuel Wesley was low in stature; this phrase, therefore, "little people," must be literally understood as applying to himself. In referring to his correspondence with Palmer, we find the latter remarking, "We are not to be bullied by little Wesley.—EDITOR.

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" Of Chaucer's verse we scarce the measures know,
So rough the lines, and so unequal flow ;
Whether by injury of time defaced,
Or careless at the first, and writ in haste ;
Or coarsely, like old Ennius, he designed,
What after-days have polished and refined.
Spencer, more smooth and neat, and none than he
Could better skill of English quantity ;
Though by his stanza cramped, his rhymes less chaste,
And antique words affected, all disgraced ;
Yet vast his genius, noble were his thoughts,
Whence equal readers wink at lesser faults."

The following is a sketch of the extraordinary poetical abilities of Dryden, and contains strong, but just, reflections on the licentious character of many of his productions. The extract is the more valuable on account of the information it gives respecting the motives by which Mr. Wesley was actuated in presenting to the world his different poetical pieces :—

Of matchless Dryden, only Dryden's skill
Could justly say enough,—of good or ill.
Envy must own he has our tongue refined,
And manly sense with tenderest softness joined ;
His verse would stones and trees with soul inspire,
As did the Theban and the Thracian lyre ;
His youthful fire within, like Etna, glows,
Though venerable age around his temples snows.
If from the modern or the ancient store
He borrows aught, he always pays them more :
So much improved, each thought so fine appears,
Waller or Ovid scarce durst own them theirs.
The learned Goth hath scoured all Europe's plains,—
France, Spain, and fruitful Italy he drains,
From every realm and every language gains :
His gains a conquest are, and not a theft ;
He wishes still new worlds of wit were left.

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I envy not great Dryden's loftier strain
Of arms and men, designed to entertain
Princes and courts, so I but please the plain.
Nor would I barter profit for delight,
Nor would have writ like him: like him to write,
If there's hereafter, and a last Great Day,
What fire's enough to purge his stains away?
How will he wish each lewd applauded line,
Which makes vice pleasing, and damnation shine,
Had been as dull as honest Quarles', or mine!*
With sixty years of lewdness rest content!
It may'nt be yet too late, O yet repent!
Even thee our injured altar will receive;
While yet there's hope, fly to its arms and live!
So shall for thee their harps the angels string,
And the returning prodigal shall sing;
New joys through all the heavenly host be shown,
In numbers only sweeter than thy own."

In other places of the same poem, speaking of pauses, he says,—

"The little glimpse that Dryden gives, is more
Than all our careless writers knew before;
He finds examples, we the rules must make,
Though who without a guide may not mistake?

'Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull:
Strong without rage; without o'erflowing, full.'
Dryden's Riddle.

If we that famous riddle can untie,
Their brightest beauties in their pauses lie,
To admiration varied; next to these
The numbers, justly ordered, charm and please;
Each word, each happy sound, is big with sense;
They all deface, who take one letter thence."

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* The six preceding lines are introduced by Samuel Wesley, jun., into the elegy on his Father's death, and inserted in the Arminian Mag., vol. i., p. 143, as well as in the subsequent pages.—EDITOR.

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Speaking of Blackmore,—

Even envy Blackmore's subjects must confess
Exact and rare, a curious happiness,
Nor many would the fable better dress;
Each page is big with Virgil's manly thought,—
To follow him too near's a glorious fault.
He dared be virtuous in the world's despite;
While Dryden lives, he dared a modest poem write." *

Mr. Wesley being asked whether Milton or Waller were the best poets, replied, "They are both excellent of their kind: Milton is the fullest and loftiest; Waller the neatest and most correct poet we ever had. But yet I think Milton wrote too little in verse, and too much in prose, to carry the name of *best* from all others. Milton's description of the Pandemonium, the battles of the angels, his creation of the world, his digression of light, in his Paradise Lost, are all inimitable pieces, and even that antique style which he uses seems to become the subject, like the strange dresses wherein he represents the old heroes. The description of Samson's death, the artificial and delicate preparation of the incidents and narrations, the turn of the whole, and, more than all, the terrible satire on women, in his discourse with Dalilah, are undoubtedly of a piece with his other writings. His elegy on his friend that was drowned, and especially a fragment of The Passion, are incomparable. However, I think him not so general a poet as some we have for-

* Such a poem as this may be supposed to have suggested Lord Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers;" at all events, his lordship had the example before him in the poetical epistle of the rector of Epworth, as well as the work of others; and if the noble bard had been guided by a sense of justice, rather than by the spirit of revenge, his poem, like that of his predecessor, would have contained more of criticism, and less of invective.—EDITOR.

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merly had, and others still surviving."—*Athen. Oracle*, vol. i., p. 476.

In the year 1704, he published "The History of the Old and New Testament, attempted in verse, and adorned with three hundred and thirty Sculptures, engraved by J. Sturt." 3 vols., 12mo., 1704.

This is a useful work for young persons, as the rhyme may assist the memory, particularly in chronological details. Some years ago it was reprinted in Manchester, but without the plates.

Mr. Wesley published three editions of this work; the first in 1701; then with the Old Testament in 1704; and again, in 1717. The last edition is thus spoken of in the "Literary Anecdotes," vol. ix., p. 603. "I happen to possess The History of the New Testament; attempted in verse, and adorned with 152 sculptures, by Samuel Wesley, M. A., &c. The third edition. Printed by R. B., for Thomas Ward, 1717. It forms one volume 12mo., and is addressed, *sans* date, to the Marchioness of Normandy, in a prosaic but flattering dedication, in which the author mourns over the loss of his most generous patroness, 'our late Queen, of blessed memory,' but rejoices that the marchioness survives. It seems a work perfect in itself, and discovers no traces of the Old Testament. It is, as all such works must be, mere pap, or milk and water, and could not expect 'the estimation of the learned;' yet, to give it its due, the engravings are pretty enough, much better than such things generally are, and by no means so execrable as Mr. Badcock represents those in the Dissertation on Job."—*J. Brown.* In the preface to the reader, he says, "I have but little to say concerning this small present which I here make thee. 'Tis some account of the intervals of my time, which I wish had never been worse employed. There

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are some passages here represented, which are so barren of circumstances that it was not easy to make them shine in verse; though they could not be well omitted without breaking the thread of the history. As for these, I hope that old excuse will be allowed me, Ornari res ipsa negat, &c. But there are others where I have more liberty, wherein it is my own fault if I have not succeeded better. On the whole, if aught that's here may be useful to any good Christian, and tend to promote piety, I shall be better pleased than if I could have composed a book on any other subject, worthy to be dedicated in the Vatican; for I hope I am got on the right side of the world, and am as indifferent to it, as it can be to me."

Mr. Brown speaks well of the engravings as executed by Sturt, of whom some account is given in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1824. John Sturt was born April 6, 1668. He engraved the Lord's Prayer in the compass of a silver penny. But his best work was his Common Prayer-Book, published by subscription in 1717: it is a large 8vo., engraven very neatly on 188 silver plates, in two columns. Prefixed is a bust of George the First. The lines on the king's face are expressed by letters, and contain the Lord's Prayer, Commandments, Creed, Prayer for the Royal Family, and the 21st Psalm; but so small as not to be legible without a magnifying glass. "Perhaps," says Mr. Dibdin, "the sacred parts of our Liturgy were never so unpicturesquely introduced. He engraved an elegy on queen Mary in so small a size that it might be set in a ring or locket. This last wonderful feat, which was announced in the Gazette, was performed in 1694. Sturt, grown old and poor, was offered a place in the Charterhouse, which he refused, and died about the age of seventy-two.

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In 1703, his letter, already mentioned, concerning the education of the Dissenters in their private academies, was printed; but without his consent or knowledge, many years after it had been written, to oblige a particular friend. This friend was Mr. Robert Clavel, the bookseller of St. Paul's Church Yard, a person of great respectability. Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, used to call him "the honest bookseller." He had an extensive trade, and prior to this time had been master of the Company of Stationers. (See *Life* and *Errors*, p. 207.) The title is as follows: "A Letter from a Country Divine to his Friend in London, concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies, in several Parts of this Nation. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Grand Committee of Parliament now sitting. London: printed for R. Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1703." A very small 4to., containing only 15 pages.

Mr. Wesley, as has been more than once intimated, never intended this letter for the public eye. His own words are:—"What I wrote was only a private letter to a particular friend, which I had not the least thoughts of his making public, but when I saw it first in print, was as much surprised as the dissenters themselves could be; for I easily foresaw most of the consequences of it. And I think what I did was very little more than was done by Mr. Bonnel, who entered a much severer character of his fellow-academics in his private writings, which afterwards became sufficiently public; and this answers all his topics of railing, though he and his party should continue to brand me with ingratitude to the end of the world."—*Reply*, p. 153.

A short analysis of this letter may be necessary, as it was the foundation of a long and painful controversy,

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which produced little profit or honour to the contending parties. Some of the ground will necessarily be touched, which has already been partially trod; but sameness shall be avoided as much as possible.

In behalf of Mr. Wesley, it may be well argued, that as he never designed the letter should be published, so he intended the dissenters as a body no kind of harm, and the gentleman who published it betrayed the confidence of his friend, and evidently designed to call the attention of government, in the most sinister way, to the case of the dissenters, and subject them to a state persecution. In this letter, Mr. W. apologizes for writing against a body among whom he was educated, to whom his ancestors belonged, and from whom he had received many personal favours; declares that he had no personal enmity against the people whose party he had left; that he honoured some of them, pitied others, and hated none, p. 3; purposes to relate whatever was most material in the methods used by the dissenters to propagate a ministry in opposition to the established church; what kind of schools and colleges they had established, to supersede the necessity of going to our universities; how these were maintained; what sort of principles were there taught, and what sort of arguments were used to confirm their pupils in their dissent, and to prevent any from going over to the communion of the church, p. 4. He next introduces a sketch of his early history thus: "Being born of dissenting parents, my father dying early, while I was at a country school, and almost fit for the university, I was taken notice of by that party, and without my mother's application or charges, sent by their direction to London, in order to be entered at one of their private academies, and so for their ministry. Dr. G., who then lived somewhere near town, and had

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the care of one of the most considerable of those seminaries, had promised me my tuition, in expectation of which I came to London, on the 8th of March, 1678; but on my arrival found him newly deceased, on which I was continued some time longer at a grammar-school, from whence my master would have had me gone to the university, having there provided a handsome subsistence for me: but the fore-mentioned party offering my relations greater advantages, I was disposed of by them at one Mr. V. [Veal] of Stepney, who there kept a private academy, having the sum of £30 per annum settled upon me by way of an exhibition, which was raised, with much more, by collections and subscriptions at a certain dissenting congregation. There I remained for the space of about two years, in which time my tutor read to me a course of Logic and Ethics; but being prosecuted by the neighbouring justices, he broke up his house, and quitted that employ; not long before which I had £10 per annum more allowed me, which whence gathered I know not; but was disposed of by Dr. O. [Owen] whom I waited upon a little after with my thanks for that favour, and was received very civilly by him, encouraged in the prosecution of my studies, and advised to have a particular regard to critical learning, p. 5.

"When this tutor [Mr. Veal] left off, I was recommended to another, one Mr. M. [Morton] of Newington Green, formerly fellow of Wadham College in Oxford, I think; for he was a great acquaintance of Bishop W. [Wilkins]; an ingenious and universally learned man, but his chiefest excellency lay in mathematics. There I continued two years more, with my former exhibitions; and my age increasing, I began now to make some more observations of things than while with my first tutor; and the more I saw into what was about me, the more,

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I confess, I disliked it, and began to doubt whether I was in the right," p. 6.

Mr. Wesley's character of his tutor should not be passed by:—"For my tutor himself, I must and ever will do him that justice to assert, that whenever the young men had any discourse of the government, and talked disaffectedly or disloyally, he never failed to rebuke and admonish them to the contrary; telling us expressly, more than once, that it was none of our business to censure such as God had set over us; that small miscarriages ought not to be magnified, nor severely reflected on, there never having been a government so exact or perfect, but had some of those Nævi in it. And further, he cautioned us against lampoons or scandalous libels against superiors, and that from the immorality, as well as danger of being the authors or dispersers of them."—*Ibid.* After having given a list of the different dissenting academies in England,* their tutors, and remarkable pupils, he returns to Mr. Morton's academy, where he had been last, and which he says stood one of the longest in England, for which he gives the following reason. "We having many gentlemen of estate, who paid well, our tutor designing what he thought the glory of God, more than his own private profit, proposed no more but just to save himself harmless: and if, therefore, he had little for some, he valued it not, so as 'twas barely made up by others; whence we had new ministers sent out, and ordained by the Presbyters," p. 9.

In the next page we learn something of the usage

* He estimates the numbers in these academies scattered throughout England, if all united, to equal about half in one of our Universities.—*Reply*, p. 37.

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and fate of this excellent man, Mr. Morton: "But though we had long weathered it out, the shocks at length came so fiercely, our tutor could not stand it: he had once before been excommunicated, and a *capias* issued out against him, on which he was taken, but while in custody of an officer, before he was actually committed to prison, the officer, in whose house he lay, accidentally died during his stay there; on which, there being none to detain him, he returned home again, attributing the thing, as is usual with that sort of people, to a particular providence: he was now in danger of a second *capias*, on which he used the mediation of my Lady R. to get some respite, and sent her sister several times to London House, on the same errand. My Lord of L., as we were told, promised him all reasonable favour if he would leave that place and employment, which he could not suffer him in, so much to the detriment and prejudice of the established church, and affront to the laws and universities; on which he absconded some time at a friend's, absenting himself from us, and leaving the senior pupils to instruct the junior." What execrable times were these, when the good, the pious, the learned, and the peaceable had no protection for person or property, if they differed at all from the time-serving principles of those in power! On all sides, it was an age of bigotry, superstition, and political oppression; and if the dissenters were to blame, the church was not to be praised. Mr. Wesley's observation on the unexpected death of the officer who had taken the good Mr. Morton, does small credit to his religion as a Christian, or his feelings as a man: "attributing the thing, as is usual with that sort of people, to a particular providence!" To what else could it be attributed? The man himself is blameless, according to Mr. W.'s own account, a pattern of all ex-

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cellence, a thorough friend to the government, and inculcating on all his pupils the most conscientious respect and obedience to the laws and to all that were in authority over them. This persecuted man, about a year after this, emigrated to New England, and became vice-president of Haward College. He died 1697, aged 70. Had the church and the state continued such as they were then, the nation had never risen to that state of moral and political excellence in which it is now found. The dissenters also have preserved their proportion in the scale of amelioration.

Mr. Wesley gives next a circumstantial account of the manner in which he acquired the conviction that it was his duty to leave the dissenting communion, and unite himself to the established church, and to enter the university, adding, "though I know not how to get thither, or live there when I come." He was offered employment among the dissenters, either in a gentleman's house, or chaplain to an East India ship; but having thoroughly made up his mind, "I went," says he, "in the name of God, and entered there the —— of August, in the year 1683, a servitor of E. [Exeter] College. Here I tarried, though I met with some hardships I had before been unacquainted with, till I was of standing sufficient, and then took my Bachelor's degree; and not being able to subsist there afterwards, came to London during the time of my Lord Bishop of London's suspension by the high commission, and was initiated into deacon's orders by my Lord Bishop of R. [Rochester] at his palace at B. [Bromley], August 7th, 1688; and on the 24th of February following, in St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, was ordained by the Lord Bishop of L. a priest of the church of England, in whose communion, as I have lived now comfortably and happily these six years past,

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so I hope to continue in it all my life, and by the grace of God to die in the same," p. 13.

Thus ends this letter, after which a page and eight lines of Appendix are added, giving some account of the exceptionable books which were read by some young gentlemen in the dissenters' academies. This should be understood as applying only to the academy of Mr. Morton, for he states distinctly, in the reply to Palmer, p. 137, that he saw no improper books at Mr. Veal's academy.

This letter gave the dissenters great offence; and well it might, for it was incautiously written; but it was soon answered anonymously in a pamphlet, entitled, "A Defence of the Dissenters' Education." Mr. Wesley, having entered on the controversy, was now urged by his diocesan to proceed, who, he says, "both spoke to me, and sent to me, to write my defence, and reviewed part of it before it was printed;" accordingly, to defend his original letter, Mr. Wesley published a pamphlet, entitled, "A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their private Academies; with a more satisfactory account of the same, and of their Morals and Behaviour towards the Church of England: being an Answer to the *Defence of the Dissenters' Education*. By Samuel Wesley;" with this remarkable motto:—

——— Noli irritare crabrones!

"The Kirk's a vixen; don't anger her."

London, 4to, 1704, pp. 64; besides eight of title, preface, and contents.

This publication, which I have several times had occasion to quote, only served to widen the breach; for Mr. Palmer, who appears to have been the anonymous

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author of the "Defence of the Dissenters' Education," soon published what he termed "A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England." A man of Mr. Wesley's disposition was not likely to sit quiet under the severe reflections cast on him by Mr. Palmer in the above pamphlet, especially when his diocesan* still urged him on, and offered, says he, "to assist me with some materials for the doing it." Wherefore he immediately meditated an answer; but this was delayed for some time. The rage of party took advantage of his narrow circumstances, and he was suddenly thrown into Lincoln castle for a paltry debt. This was petty malice; and he amply retorted on his persecutors in a pamphlet, entitled, "A Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England. By SAMUEL WESLEY." London, 1707, 4to., about 155 pages; besides sixteen of title, preface, and contents; with a motto taken from John Fox, and one from De Foe; the latter I shall transcribe:—

"How long must we see the reproaches of our Establishment, and the insult of the laws, and be bound to silence, and to say nothing for peace sake? How long must their false prophets and dreamers of dreams abuse us, and we be obliged to hold our peace?" De Foe's Review, vol. iii., No. XLIII.

This work appears to have been partly written in Lincoln castle, as the following words in the preface seem to imply: "I am to ask his (Mr. Palmer's) pardon for the delay of my answer, which I hope he will the more easily grant, because he is not ignorant of the

* Reply to Palmer, p. 154.

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occasion. I have often thought of his kind admonition in his first book, p. 20, 'of what I was likely to lose by the dissenters' resentment of my letter,' &c. Some people have an untoward faculty of keeping their words with the utmost exactness, whenever they make a left-hand promise; and there are some sort of debts they'll never compound for, but be sure to pay them to the uttermost farthing.

"I shan't trouble him (the reader) with any melancholy stories of the treatment I have lately met with, but shall refer it to a higher tribunal than that of any earthly judicature." And in the beginning of the ninth chapter of the work, p. 144, he says, "I am now come to Mr. Palmer's last chapter, which I wish I had been at long before; for I must confess I don't much admire this work which I am forced to in my own just defence; and think, if I were at liberty, I could employ myself something better." And in p. 68: "Welcome a gaol once more, rather than take their dirty road to preferment." Mr. Palmer did not reply.

I have been thus particular, because Dunton frequently adverts to this controversy, and intimates that it was undertaken by Mr. Wesley "in hopes of a bishopric." In giving the character of the ministers who conformed, he remarks, "I shall add my old friend Mr. Samuel Wesley, who was educated upon charity in a private academy, if we may take his own word for it in his late pamphlet, which was designedly written to expose and overthrow those academies. One would have thought that either gratitude, or his own reputation in the world, and among his relations, and his best friends, might have kept him silent; though when a man is resolved to do himself a mischief, who can help it? But it is certainly so. *Apostata est osor sui ordinis.* Mr. W. has read much,

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and is well skilled in the languages; he is generous and good humoured, and caresses his friend with a great deal of passion, so long as his circumstances are any thing in order, and then he drops him; and I challenge the rector of Epworth (for he is not yet 'My Lord,' nor 'His Grace') to prove I injure him in this character. I could be very maggotty with this conforming dissenter, but except he further provokes me, I bid him farewell till we meet in heaven; and there I hope we shall renew our friendship, for, human frailties excepted, I believe Sam. Wesley a pious man."

After these observations we should hardly have expected any thing more; but when he comes to give Mr. Palmer's character, he again adverts to it thus: "There has a controversy fallen out of late between him and the dignified Mr. Samuel Wesley, concerning the private academies, wherein he has fully vindicated those nurseries of piety and good learning from the scandal and imputation which Mr. Wesley endeavoured to throw upon them. Mr. Wesley's first piece, addressed to the parliament then sitting, was a most unkind satire upon himself; the world had not known him unless he had thought fit to make himself public. I am afraid Mr. Wesley's vein has almost spent itself: the dregs came the last. Whether his last libel be worthy of an answer, Mr. Palmer is the best judge, and that province belongs to him. However, it plainly appears that Mr. Wesley's taxing their morals and behaviour, &c., was a malicious falsehood, published on purpose to curry favour with the *high-flyers*, and to enlarge his preferment."

I should remark that by the "last libel," Dunton alludes to Mr. Wesley's second tract, "A Defence," which came out the year preceding "his Life and

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Errors," in which even the very printer comes under his lash, who, he says, "has no spot on his character except it be printing that infamous pamphlet."

In a poem, entitled, "The Dissenting Doctors," referring to Palmer, and to this controversy he writes,

> Were Wesley but impartial, he would own
> His learned "Answer" lash'd him to the bone.
> A better "Vindication" none could write,
> Nor any satire show us half that wit.
> Strict sense appears in the most careless line,
> And in the most exact the graces shine."
>
> *Life and Errors*, p. 163-4, 380, 724. 2nd. ed.

As the matter of Mr. Wesley's imprisonment has been misunderstood, if not misrepresented, I shall soon lay the whole account before the reader.

Whether this controversy were carried on any farther I know not; I give below the titles of all the pieces I have seen on the subject;* and as far as I have gone

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* The pamphlets, written pro and con, on this controversy, were the following:—

1. A Letter from a Country Divine to his Friend in London, concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their Private Academies in several parts of this nation. Humbly offered to the consideration of the Grand Committee of Parliament for Religion, now sitting. London, 1703, 4to., pp. 15. The country divine was Mr. S. Wesley.

2. A Defence of the Dissenters' Education in their Private Academies, in an Answer to Mr. W——y's disingenuous and unskilful Reflections upon 'em; in a Letter to a Noble Lord. London, 1703, sm. 4to., pp. 24. This was by Mr. Palmer.

3. A Defence of a Letter concerning the Education of Dissenters in their Private Academies, with a more full and satisfactory account of the same, and of their morals, and behaviour towards the Church of England; being an Answer to the Defence of the

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with the controversy, I must own I have received no edification from it. Mr. Wesley most certainly uses great dexterity in fencing with and foiling his adversary. But

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Dissenters' Education. By Samuel Wesley. London, 1704, 4to., pp. 54.

4. A Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England; in answer to Mr. Wesley's Defence of his Letter concerning the Dissenters' Education in their Private Academies. And to Mr. Sacheverel's injurious Reflections upon them. London, 1705, 4to., pp. 115.

5. A Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England. By Samuel Wesley. London, 1707, 4to., pp. 155.

6. Presbyterian Loyalty, in two Letters, one directed to Mr. Palmer, author of the Vindication of the Loyalty, &c. of the Dissenters; the other to a Tacking Member of Parliament, giving some account of the History of Dissenters' Loyalty, &c. Part I. in answer to Mr. Palmer's Vth chapter of his Vindication of the Dissenters' Behaviour towards authority; in which there is some account of the Presbyterian plot of making James, Duke of Monmouth, king of England. By a friend of the Tackers. London, 1705, 4to., pp. 24. (Signed Philarene.)

7. Presbyterian Loyalty, in two Letters; one directed to Moderate Churchmen; to which is annexed, the Ballad of the Cloak, or the Cloak's Knavery. The other to a Tacking Member of the late House of Commons, giving an account of the History of Dissenters' Loyalty to the Martyrdom of King Charles the First. Part II. in answer to Mr. Palmer's Vth Chapter of his Vindication of the Dissenters' Behaviour towards authority. With an Elegy on King Charles the First, reprinted. By a friend of the Tackers. London, 1705, 4to., pp. 32. (Signed Philalethes.)

One of the most singular circumstances in this Paper was, that Mr. Samuel Palmer, the warm defender of the dissenters, actually abandoned them, and conformed to the Church of England! Perhaps won over by his antagonist's arguments.

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on both sides party spirit has a superabundant prevalence. Mr. Wesley was ill used by several of that party, and he appears too often to attribute the unchristian and and cruel treatment he received from them to the whole body, and to intimate that dissenting principles must necessarily produce such wicked effects.

Mr. W. was an unqualified admirer of Charles the First, considered him in the fullest sense a martyr, and was often intolerant to those who differed from him in this opinion. He exposed the dissenters; and did it the more effectually, because, being bred up among them, he knew their order, discipline, political opinions, &c. But he always gets too much into generals from particulars, and charges the body with the vices of the few.

Their mode of defence was not calculated to soften his asperity, nor correct his misapprehension; and they disgracefully stooped to personal injuries that they might avenge themselves on one whom they considered a detractor of the brethren, and an apostate from the true faith.

The same subjects canvassed then would scarcely admit of discussion now. A spirit of liberality and tolerance now exists, and is happily cultivated, which in great part of the seventeenth century was little known. Through the mercy of God the nation has now more light and more religion; though there are still individuals to be found, on both sides, who, had they the power, would stir up old feuds, and banish sweet repose from the hearts and houses of the pious, the peaceable, and the loyal. Neither the name nor peculiar creed of churchman nor dissenter is essential to salvation. He alone deserves the title of Christian who wishes well to the human race, and labours to promote, according to his power and influence, the best interests of mankind. No

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man professing godliness should forget to imitate him "who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust." Mr. Wesley did not keep this constantly in mind, and of this he himself seems to be conscious from an observation at the close of this controversy (see reply, p. 144): "If," says he, "in the heat of controversy, I should unadvisedly have used any expressions, in this or any other of my writings, that either may reflect too severely on a whole body of men among whom I doubt not but there are many who fear God, and have a zeal for him, though I think it is not according to knowledge, or which have not been agreeable to the spirit of Christianity, and the example of my great Master; I do heartily, very heartily, ask pardon, both of God and them, as I desire the same for my greatest enemies. And having written this, and again and again reviewed and weighed it, I am not much concerned for the consequence of it as to this world, but shall conclude as our church does one part of our litany, 'In all time of our tribulation, in all time of our wealth, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment,—good Lord, deliver us.'

To pursue the literary life of Mr. Wesley any farther at present would take us too far out of the direct line of his domestic relations.

While Mr. S. Wesley attended his curacy in London, about 1690 or 1691, for the date is not exactly known, he contracted an acquaintance, which terminated in marriage, with Miss Susanna Annesley, youngest daughter of Samuel Annesley, LL. D., an eminent nonconformist divine, nobly related; for he and Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey and Lord Privy Seal to Charles the Second, were brothers' children. The excellence of Miss Annesley's mind was equal to the eminence of her birth; but

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her history is too important to be included even in that of her husband, and requires a separate place. She was such a helpmate as Mr. Wesley required; and to her, under God, the great eminence of the subsequent Wesley family is to be attributed. They had nineteen children, of whom only their eldest son Samuel appears to have been born previously to their removal to South Ormsby in Lincolnshire, which was about the year 1690.

The Rev. William Azlach was Mr. Wesley's predecessor at South Ormsby. According to the register of that church, Mr. Azlach was buried on Jan. 19th, 1690. That Mr. W. succeeded him, appears from an entry in Mr. W.'s hand-writing, dated Aug. 26th of this year; and we shall see that his daughter Susannah, first of that name, was baptized in South Ormsby church, on March 31st, 1691.

He continued in this rectory till about the end of 1696; for the Rev. Thomas Raven, rector, succeeded him in 1697.

South Ormsby is a small but neat village, about nine miles from Horncastle, eight from Louth, and six from Alford.

An intelligent friend who visited the place, and inspected the church and register for me, thus describes it: "It has the pleasant aspect common to most villages which skirt the park surrounding a gentleman's seat. The church is ancient, and is situated on a small eminence with trees about it, and overlooks the rectory-house, which is built on lower ground adjoining the church-yard. They are close to the border of the park, and not far from the hall. The whole scene, from a turn in the public road, a short distance from the house, is pleasingly picturesque, even to the person who cares nothing for the name of Wesley."—*A. G. Jewitt.*

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In Mr. Wesley's time, however, his own situation at the parsonage seems by no means enviable, as far as he describes it in his poem:

> "In a mean cot, composed of reeds and clay,
> Wasting in sighs the uncomfortable day:
> Near where the inhospitable Humber roars,
> Devouring by degrees the neighbouring shores."

Yet, amid all the changes to which he was subject, he exclaims,—

> "Let earth go where it will, I'll not repine,
> Nor can unhappy be, while Heaven is mine."*

Mr. Wesley began the world under many disadvantages: he had himself no property; and Dr. Annesley's family was probably much reduced, so that he could give little with any of his daughters. Elizabeth had married John Dunton, so often already mentioned. His eccentricities were such as to bring him into frequent embarrassments. What help his father-in-law's family could afford him, I suppose he had; and besides this, he had borrowed considerably from Mr. Wesley, so that when he was thrown into prison for debt by others, Mr. Wesley, he acknowledges, was his chief creditor; which debt he never repaid. And although Dunton was, at Mr. Wesley's first setting out in the world, one of his principal friends, yet through his generosity in return, he suffered much in his circumstances.†

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* Life of Christ, p. 20, line 750, &c.

† One thing is to be perceived in Mr. Wesley's spirit, in the midst of his exercises, and that is—he never forgot his God. His "Prayer for one in affliction and want," will show the character of his addresses to God.

"O God! who art infinite in power, and compassion, and goodness, and truth; who hast promised in thy Holy Word that thou

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From the year 1691 to 1700 he met with various misfortunes and trials. He had, it is true, expectations of preferment; and had Queen Mary lived, he would cer-

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wilt hear the prayer of the poor and destitute, and wilt not despise his desire; look down, I beseech thee, from heaven, the habitation of thy holiness and glory, upon me, a miserable sinner, now lying under thy hand in great affliction and sorrow, who fly to thee alone for help and comfort. I am weary of my groaning,—my heart faileth me,—the light of my eyes is gone from me,—I sink in the deep waters,—and there is none to help me; yet I wait still upon thee, my God. Though all the world forsake me, let the Lord still uphold me, and in him let me always find the truest, the kindest, the most compassionate, unwearied, almighty friendship; to him let me ease my wearied soul, and unbosom all my sorrows!

"Help me, O Lord, against hope to believe in hope. Grant that I may not be moved with all the slights and censures of a mistaken world. Let me look by faith beyond this vale of tears and misery, to that happy place which knows no pain, or want, or sorrows, as being assured that there is an end, and my expectation shall not be cut off. I know, O Lord! that a man's life consists not in the abundance of things that he possesses, but that he who has the most here, as he brought nothing with him into this world, so he shall carry nothing out. I bless thee that thou hast not given me my portion among those who have received all their consolation here, whose portion is in this life only. Neither let me expect those blessings which thou hast promised to the poor, unless I am really poor in spirit, and meek and humble. I know nothing is impossible with God, and that it is thou alone who givest power to get riches, and that thou canst, by thy good providence, raise me from this mean condition whenever thou pleasest, and wilt certainly do it if it be best for me, and therefore submit all unto thy wise and kind disposal. I desire not wealth, or greatness: give me neither extreme poverty, nor do I ask riches of thee, but only to be fed with food convenient for me. I desire earnestly to seek first the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, well hoping that in thy good time, food, raiment, and all other things that be needful, shall be added unto me. I believe, O Lord, that thou who feedest the ravens, and clothest the lilies, wilt not neglect me (and mine); that

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tainly have risen in the church, as it appears she had firmly purposed.

For a time he had the friendship of the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, who made him his chaplain, and is said to have recommended him for an Irish bishopric. The Duke of Marlborough was also his friend; and for his poem on "The Fate of Europe," gave him the chaplaincy of Colonel Lepell's regiment: but the dissenters, his inflexible enemies, had

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thou wilt make good thy own unfailing promises, wilt give meat to them that fear thee, and be ever mindful of thy covenant. In the meantime, let me not be querulous, or impatient, or envious at the prosperity of the wicked, or judge uncharitably of those to whom thou hast given a larger portion of the good things of this life, or be cruel to those who are in the same circumstances with myself. Let me never sink or despond under my heavy pressures and continued misfortunes. Though I fall, let me rise again, because the Lord taketh me up. Let my heart never be sunk so low that I should be afraid to own the cause of despised virtue. Give diligence, and prudence, and industry, and let me neglect nothing that lies in me to provide honestly for my own house, lest I be worse than an infidel. Help me carefully to examine my life past; and if, by my own carelessness or imprudence, I have reduced myself into this low condition, let me be more deeply afflicted for it; but yet still hope in thy goodness, avoiding those failures whereof I have been formerly guilty. Or if for my sins thou hast brought this upon me, my unthankfulness for thy mercies, or abuse of them, help me now with submission and patience to bear the punishment of my iniquity. Or if by thy wise providence thou art pleased thus to afflict me for trial, and for the example of others; thy will, O my God, not mine, be done! Help me, and any who are in the same circumstances, in patience to possess our souls, and let all thy fatherly chastisements advance us still nearer toward Christian perfection. Teach us the emptiness of all things here below, wean us more and more from a vain world, fix our hearts more upon heaven, and help us forward in the right way that leads to everlasting life," &c.—EDITOR.

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interest enough at court, and with the leading men of the nation, to prevent his preferment, and deprive him of the chaplaincies which he had honestly obtained.

In the midst of all his troubles he had an invariable friend in the justly celebrated Dr. John Sharp, Archbishop of York,* and grandfather to the late Granville Sharp, Esq., the first man whose call awakened the drowsy and guilty British nation to the wrongs of Africa.

The archbishop acted to Mr. Wesley the part of a most tender father and beneficent patron. The latter frequently poured his complaints into his bosom; and they were received with tenderness and affectionate commiseration: and the bounty of the Archbishop of York was frequently poured on the necessities of the distressed Rector of Epworth. Of these benefits Mr. Wesley had a due and deep sense; and his manly gratitude kept pace with his obligations.†

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* Dunton states (Life, p. 361), that "King William, having heard how useful Dr. Sharp was as minister of St. Giles, bestowed on him the archbishopric of York."—EDITOR.

† Mr. Wesley was not the only person who enjoyed his lordship's bounty.—The following anecdote, published by P. Hoare in his life of Dr. Sharpe, is highly interesting.

It was his lordship's custom to have a saddle-horse attend his carriage, that in case of fatigue from sitting he might take the refreshment of a ride. As he was thus going to his episcopal residence, and was got a mile or two before the carriage, a decent looking young man came up to him, and, with a trembling hand and faultering tongue, presented a pistol to his lordship's breast, demanding his money. The archbishop, with composure, turned about, and looking steadfastly at him, desired he would remove that dangerous weapon, and tell him fairly his condition. "Sir, Sir!" with great agitation, cried the youth, "No words—'tis not a time—your money instantly." "Hear me, young man," said the

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By the kindness of Miss Sharp, the only surviving branch of this ancient and very eminent family, I have been put in possession of Letters written by Mr. Wesley

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archbishop, "and come on with me. You see I am a very old man, and my life is of very little consequence; yours seems far otherwise. I am named Sharp, and am Archbishop of York; my carriage and servants are behind; tell me what money you want, and who you are; and I'll not injure you, but prove a friend. Here, take this ——; and now tell me how much you want to make you independent of so destructive a business as you are now engaged in." "O Sir," replied the man, "I detest the business as much as you. I am—but—but—at home, there are creditors who will not stay; fifty pounds, my lord, indeed would do what no tongue besides my own can tell." "Well, Sir, I take it on your word; and, upon my honour, if you will in a day or two call on me at ——, what I have now given shall be made up that sum."

The highwayman looked at him, was silent, and went off; and at the time appointed actually waited on the archbishop, and assured his lordship his words had left impressions on his mind which nothing could ever efface.

Nothing transpired of him for a year and a-half, or more; when, one morning, a person knocked at his Grace's gate, and with a peculiar earnestness desired to see him. The bishop ordered the stranger to be brought in; he entered the room where his lordship was, but had scarce advanced a few steps before his countenance changed, his knees tottered, and he sank, almost breathless, on the floor; recovering, he requested his lordship for an audience in private. The apartment being cleared, "My lord," said he, "you cannot have forgotten the circumstances at such a time and place; gratitude will never suffer them to be obliterated from my mind. In me, my lord, you now behold that once most wretched of mankind; but now, by your inexpressible humanity, rendered equal, perhaps superior, in happiness to millions. O my lord—(tears for a while prevented his utterance)—'tis you, 'tis you that have saved me, body and soul; 'tis you that have saved a dear and much-loved wife, and a little brood of children, whom I tendered dearer than my life. Here is that fifty pounds; but never shall I

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to the archbishop, from the year 1700 to 1707, which filled up a considerable gap in his history, and afford a number of curious particulars, which have never been before the public. These come in properly in this place; and from the first we shall see the difficulties with which this good man had to struggle, and the cause of his consequent embarrassments.

"For the most Rev. Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of York, at Bishop Thorp.

"My Lord,

"I have lived on the thoughts of your Grace's generous offer ever since I was at Bishop Thorp; and the hope I have of seeing some end, or at least mitigation, of my trouble, makes me pass through them with much more ease than I should otherwise have done. I can now make a shift to be dunned with some patience; and to be affronted, because I want the virtue of riches, by those who scarce think there is any other virtue.

"I must own I was ashamed, when at Bishop Thorp, to confess that I was three hundred pounds in debt, when I have a living of which I have made two hundred pounds per annum, though I could hardly let it now for eightscore.

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find language to testify what I feel. Your God is your witness; your deed itself is your glory: and may heaven, and all its blessings, be your present and everlasting reward! I was the younger son of a wealthy man; your lordship knows him, I am sure. His name was ——. My marriage alienated his affection, and my brother withdrew his love, and left me to sorrow and penury. A month since my brother died a bachelor, and intestate. What was his is become mine; and, by your astonishing goodness, I am now at once the most penitent, the most grateful, and happiest of my species." See also, Ar. Mag., Vol. VIII., p. 159.

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"I doubt not but one reason of my being sunk so far is, my not understanding worldly affairs; and my aversion to law, which my people have always known but too well. But I think I can give a tolerable account of my affairs, and satisfy any equal judge that a better husband than myself might have been in debt, though, perhaps, not so deeply, had he been in the same circumstances, and met with the same misfortunes.

"'Twill be no great wonder that when I had but fifty pounds per annum for six or seven years together, nothing to begin the world with, one child at least per annum, and my wife sick for half that time, that I should run one hundred and fifty pounds behind hand; especially when about a hundred of it had been expended in goods, without doors and within.

"When I had the rectory of Epworth given me, my Lord of Sarum was so generous as to pass his word to his goldsmith* for one hundred pounds, which I borrowed of him. It cost me very little less than fifty pounds of this in my journey to London, and getting into my living, for the Broad Seal, &c; and with the other fifty pounds, I stopped the mouths of my most importunate creditors.

"When I removed to Epworth I was forced to take up fifty pounds more, for setting up a little husbandry when I took the tithes into my own hand, and buying some part of what was necessary towards furnishing my house, which was larger, as well as my family, than what I had on the other side the county.

"The next year my barn fell, which cost me forty

* Such was the denomination of bankers in that day. See Ellis's Correspondence.

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pounds in rebuilding (thanks to your Grace for part of it); and having an aged mother, who must have gone to prison if I had not assisted her, she cost me upwards of forty pounds more, which obliged me to take up another fifty pounds. I have had but three children born since I came hither, about three years since; but another coming, and my wife incapable of any business in my family, as she has been for almost a quarter of a year; yet we have but one maid-servant, to retrench all possible expenses.

"My first-fruits came to about twenty-eight pounds; my tenths near three pounds per annum. I pay a yearly pension of three pounds out of my rectory to John of Jerusalem. My taxes came to upwards of twenty pounds per annum; but they are now retrenched to about half. My collection to the poor comes to five pounds per annum; besides which, they have lately bestowed an apprentice upon me, whom, I suppose, I must teach to beat rime. Ten pounds a-year I allow my mother, to help to keep her from starving. I wish I could give as good an account for some charities, which I am now satisfied have been imprudent, considering my circumstances.

"Fifty pounds interest and principal I have paid my Lord of Sarum's goldsmith. All which together keeps me necessitous, especially since interest money begins to pinch me; and I am always called on for money before I make it, and must buy everything at the worst hand; whereas, could I be so happy as to get on the right side of my income, I should not fear, by God's help, but to live honestly in the world, and to leave a little to my children after me. I think, as 'tis, I could perhaps work it out in time, in half-a-dozen or half-a-score years, if

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my heart should hold so long: but for that God's will be done!

"Humbly asking pardon for this tedious trouble,

"I am,

"Your Grace's most obliged

"and most humble servant,

"S. WESLEY."

Epworth, 10*r* [*Dec.*] 30, 1700.

There are a few things in this letter which require explanation, and some of them refer to certain curious facts in ecclesiastical history.

1. Among Mr. Wesley's expenses we find getting the Broad Seal was one. This was on his being presented to the rectory of Epworth; for as that living belongs to the crown, the gift to him required the Broad Seal affixed as his title: and the fees, &c. of office were even at that time considerable; but now more so, as in addition to them there is a heavy stamp duty.

2. He mentions removing to Epworth from the other side of the county. This was from South Ormsby, which is in the wapentake of Ladbrough, in the opposite side of the county from Epworth, and about eight or ten miles from the Humber. This living he appears to have received from the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckingham; and the manner in which he lost it we have already seen.

3. He speaks of his aged mother. This was the relict of his father, John Wesley, some time vicar of Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire; from which he was ejected by the cruel Act of Uniformity. Persecuted and driven about from place to place during his life, he could make no provision for his family; and his widow, who survived him many years, was obliged to depend on for-

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tuitous charity; and, in her latter days especially, on the little help, ten pounds per annum, which she received from her son Samuel; who, according to the above account, was in very straitened circumstances himself.

It must be owned that Mr. Wesley's attachment to the church must have been strong indeed, and founded on conscientious principles, when he clave to it with all his heart, at the risk of all he possessed; while he had continually before his eyes the horrible consequences of those cruel laws, and relentless high-church bigotry, that deprived his parents of a morsel of bread, brought his father to an untimely grave, and reduced his widowed aged mother to a state of the most abject poverty.

4. He tells the archbishop that his first-fruits came to £28, that is, he had to pay £28 in lieu of the first-fruits; which mean the profits of all spiritual promotions for one whole year. These were at first given to the pope; but were taken from him by the Statute of Coventry, anno 6 Hen. IV., A. D. 1404, and annexed to the crown anno 25 Hen. VIII., A. D. 1533, under which act Mr. Wesley paid them. But they were given from the crown to the poor clergy, anno 2, 3 Annæ, A. D. 1703, about two or three years after the time of which Mr. Wesley here speaks; and still continue to be appropriated in the same way.

6. His tenths, he tells us, came to £3 per annum. The tenths were a "yearly rent, or pension, amounting to the value of a tenth part of all the revenues, rents, farms, tithes, offerings, emoluments, and all other profits, as well spiritual as temporal, belonging to any archbishopric, bishopric, parsonage, vicarage, or other benefice, or promotion spiritual, to be yearly paid for ever to the king." These also had been claimed by the pope, but were annexed to the crown by the statute anno 26

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Henry VIII., A. D. 1534. But they were, with the first-fruits, given by the crown to augment the livings of the poor clergy, by the statute anno 2, 3 Annæ, A. D. 1703.

6. He also mentions paying a pension of £3 yearly out of his rectory to John of Jerusalem. This was the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, to which the lands formerly belonging to the Knights Templars had been given by the statute *De Juris Templariorum*, made anno 17 Edw. II., A. D. 1323, when the above order was suppressed in England. The whole order had been suppressed by Pope Clement V., in a general council at Vienne, A. D. 1312. At the suppression of the monasteries all the possessions of St. John of Jerusalem, in England and Ireland, were given to the king, by the statute anno 32 Henry VIII., A. D. 1541. What therefore each church, &c. paid to this order was after this paid to the king; and as the rectory of Epworth had paid to the value of £3 to that house, this was the sum which the kings of England continued to receive from that rectory.

7. What he meant by *beating rime* I could not satisfactorily explain in the former edition of this work. I am now convinced, from the following verses, in his poem concerning poetry, that the word *rime* was misspelt (l. 219).

> "But meanly why do you your fate deplore,
> Yet still write on? Why do a thousand more,
> Who for their own, or some forefather's crime,
> Are doomed to wear their days in *beating rhime?*"

It is probable, therefore, that he uses the phrase for *making verses*. Of this phraseology I have not met with any other example in any author; but it is evidently a

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metaphor taken from *beating hemp* or *flax*, thus breaking the *reedy* part, in order to separate the *fibres* from it. Some there have been, who were obliged to *beat* their brains for *rhyme*, as others were to *beat hemp*, in order to separate the *silky fibre* from the *reed*.

The preceding letter had made a strong impression on the mind of the archbishop in his favour; who, willing to serve him in every possible way, not only spoke to several of the more charitably disposed nobility in his behalf, but had actually endeavoured to get a brief for him, and had made an application to the House of Lords to this effect. The Countess of Northampton, to whom the archbishop had mentioned Mr. Wesley's case, had generously sent him £20. For these and other favours, from and through the archbishop, he expresses himself in a very feeling and energetic manner in the following letter, which, with that which immediately follows it, I cannot persuade myself to withhold from the reader:—

"*Epworth, May* 14, 1701.

"My Lord,

"In the first place, I do, as I am bound, heartily thank God for raising me so great and generous a benefactor as your Grace, when I so little expected or deserved it.

"And then return my poor thanks to your Lordship; though but a sorry acknowledgment, yet all I have, for the pains and trouble you have been at on my account. I most humbly thank your Grace that you did not close with the motion which you mentioned in your Grace's first letter; for I should rather choose to remain all my life in my present circumstances, than so much as consent that your Lordship should do any such thing; nor, indeed, should I be willing on my own account to trouble

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the House of Lords in the method proposed; for I believe *mine* would be the first instance of a *brief for losses by child-bearing*, that ever came before that honourable house.

"Had your Grace been able to have effected nothing for me, the generosity and goodness had been the same; and I should have prayed for as great a heap of blessings on your Grace and your family. But I can do no more now I have such considerable assistance by your Grace's charitable endeavours. When I received your Grace's first letter, I thanked God upon my knees for't; and have done the same I believe twenty times since, as often as I have read it; and more than once for the other, which I received but yesterday.

"Certainly, never did an archbishop of England write in such a manner to an isle-poet: but it is peculiar to your Grace to oblige so as none besides can do it. I know your Grace will be angry, but I can't help it: truth will out, though in a plain and rough dress; and I should sin against God, if I now neglected to make all the poor acknowledgments I am able."

After several other matters, of a more private nature, he mentions the great kindness of the Countess of Northampton; and says, he must divide what she has given him, "half to my poor mother, with whom I am now above a year behind hand; the other ten pounds for my own family. My mother will wait on your Grace for her ten pounds: she knows not the particulars of my circumstances, which I keep from her as much as I can, that they may not trouble her."

The following letter, written four days after the above, is both singular and characteristic.

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"*Epworth, May 18th*, 1701.

"My Lord,

"This comes as a rider to the last, by the same post, to bring such news as I presume will not be unwelcome to a person who has so particular a concern for me. Last night my wife brought me a *few* children. There are but *two* yet, a boy and a girl, and I think they are all at present: we have had four in two years and a day, three of which are living.

"Never came any thing more like a gift from heaven than what the Countess of Northampton sent by your Lordship's charitable offices. Wednesday evening my wife and I clubbed and joined stocks, which came but to *six shillings*, to send for coals. Thursday morning I received the *ten pounds*; and at night my wife was delivered. Glory be to God for his unspeakable goodness!

"I am

"Your Grace's most obliged

"and most humble servant,

"S. WESLEY."

About this time, 1701, a remarkable anecdote occurs in the Life of the Rector of Epworth. I shall give it in the words of his son, Mr. John Wesley, as I had it from himself.

"Were I," said he, "to write my own life, I should begin it *before I was born*, merely for the purpose of mentioning a disagreement between my father and mother. 'Sukey,' said my father to my mother, one day after family prayer, 'why did you not say *amen* this morning to the prayer for the king?' 'Because,' said she, 'I do not believe the Prince of Orange to be king.' 'If that be the case, said he, 'you and I must part; for if we have two kings, we must have two beds.' My mother was in-

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flexible. My father went immediately to his study; and, after spending some time with himself, set out for London, where, being *convocation man* for the diocese of Lincoln, he remained without visiting his own house for the remainder of the year. On March 8th in the following year, 1702, King William died; and as both my father and mother were agreed as to the legitimacy of Queen Anne's title, the cause of their misunderstanding ceased. My father returned to Epworth, and conjugal harmony was restored."

Mr. Wesley observes, that his father was *convocation man* that year. To the generality of readers this word requires explanation.

Convocation, in our church history, signifies an assembly of the clergy, for a consultation of matters ecclesiastical, in time of parliament. And as the parliament consists of two distinct houses, so does this: the one called the *upper house*, where the archbishops and bishops sit severally by themselves; the other, the *lower house*, where all the rest of the clergy are represented by their deputies or proctors, consisting of all the deans and archdeacons; of one proctor for every chapter, and two for the clergy of every diocese; in all 143 divines, viz., 22 deans, 53 archdeacons, 24 prebendaries, and 44 proctors of the diocesan clergy. The convocation is summoned by the king's writ directed to the archbishop of each province, requiring him to summon all bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. In this convocation the clergy exercise jurisdiction for the church, in making of canons; but these must have the king's assent. And they have the power of examining and censuring all heretical and schismatical books and persons; but an appeal lies to the king in chancery, or to his delegates, and the whole powers are limited by statute 25 Hen. VIII., cap. 19.

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The clergy in their attendance on the convocation have the same privileges as members of the house of commons, in freedom from arrest.

Mr. Wesley attended these convocations for three years, at the expense to himself of fifty pounds per annum. It appears that he might have avoided this expense, as he was censured for taking this office upon him, which ill accorded with the narrowness of his domestic circumstances.

I have already observed, in the account given of Mr. John Wesley, of Whitchurch, Mr. Samuel Wesley's father, that every genuine minister of the gospel considers himself a missionary; and that when he receives his commission from the Head of the Church, he knows that it in effect says, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." About this time Mr. Wesley appears to have had his mind seriously impressed with the miserable state of the heathen, and with a strong desire to go to them, and proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ. He had mentioned his desire in a general way to Archbishop Sharp, and given him some hints concerning proposals which he had made, probably to the Society for the Propagation of Christianity in Foreign Parts, and to some members of the administration.

It appears that the archbishop had desired an account of the whole scheme; and he sent him the following paper, which is unfortunately without a date; but is in his own handwriting, and is subscribed by the archbishop.

"The scheme I had laid, if I went to the East Indies, and which by God's grace I shall yet prosecute if I go thither, and am enabled to do it, was not confined to

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one place or nation, but aimed at a more general service to Christianity.

"My design consisted of three parts; the first relating to our own people, the native English and their subjects, which I am told at one of our colonies are numerous; the second to other Christian Churches, whether out of the Roman communion, or members of it; the third, to the heathen.

"1. As to *our own*. I would make a particular inquiry into the state of Christianity in all our factories and settlements, from St. Helena to the further eastern countries; travelling where I could myself, either by land or sea; and where that could not be done, fixing a correspondence, which I should have the convenience of doing from Surat, it being a mart for so many nations. I would inquire into the number of our people, their morals, and their ministers. It should be my faithful endeavour to revive the spirit of Christianity amongst them, by spreading good books, bringing them to catechising, or any other means, as I should be directed from hence, or as God should enable me.

"2. As to other Christian churches. First, those who are of the Roman communion. I would endeavour to fix a correspondence with the church of Abyssinia; or, if it was thought fit by my superiors, even to try if I could pierce into that country myself. However, in the second place, I could personally inquire into the state of the poor Christians of St. Thomas, who are scattered over the Indies; and settle a correspondence between them and the Church of England.

"As to the Romanists, I might probably light on some opportunity to convey some of our books amongst them, translated into the language of the countries where they are; and even as far as China (where we have a con-

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siderable factory), whereby the Jesuits' half-converts might be better instructed in the principles of our religion, or made more than *almost* Christians.

"3. For the Gentoos. I would see if I could learn the Hindostan language; and when I once got master of their notions, and way of reasoning, endeavour to bring over some of their Bramines or Bannians, and common people, to the Christian religion; the government, I suppose, being not very strict as to those matters.

"I know I am not sufficient for the least of these designs, much less for all together. But as 'twould be well worth dying for to make some progress in any of 'em, so I would expect the same assistance as to kind, though not to degree, which was granted of old to the first planters of the gospel. Nor would I neglect, but humbly and thankfully receive, any instructions from my superiors or others, my acquaintance and correspondents both here and in the Indies, in order to accomplish the end of my mission.

"This seems to be a different design from settling all together at some one of our particular factories, all of which the East India Company are to provide for. But whether it deserves encouragement from the corporation, must be left to their piety and wisdom. As likewise whether Her Majesty [Queen Anne] might not be prevailed upon to encourage by her royal favour a design of this nature; the French king sending so many missions into those parts.

"However, if one hundred pounds per annum might be allowed me, and forty I must pay my curate in my absence, either from the East India Company or otherwhere, I should be ready to venture my life on this occasion, provided any way might be found to secure a

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subsistence for my family in case of my decease in those countries."

The event proves that Mr. Wesley's plan was not adopted, at least as far as he himself was personally concerned in it; but perhaps some of the subsequent operations of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge in the East were not altogether unindebted to the hint thrown out in this paper.

The plan was such as the British church and government might have easily put into execution; and for personal courage, spirit, and missionary zeal, probably a fitter instrument than Samuel Wesley could not then have been readily found. One hundred pounds for himself, and forty for a curate, was a very moderate request; and he no doubt supposed that the income of the rectory might be sufficient to support his family during his absence.

The same spirit that would have carried the father to Abyssinia, India, and China, afterwards carried his son across the Atlantic to preach the gospel to the different tribes of American Indians; and has urged his sons and successors in the ministry to carry the glad tidings of Christ crucified to America, the West India Islands, West and South Africa, to New South Wales, to Van Dieman's Land, to New Zealand, the Island of Ceylon, and the Peninsula of India. In the Wesley family the seeds of missionary zeal were early sown; they vegetated slowly; but are now producing an abundant harvest to the glory of the God of missionaries, whose salvation shall be revealed to the ends of the earth.

Mr. Wesley not having got on the right side of his income as yet, was grievously troubled with his old creditors, some of whom appear to have been implacable

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and unmerciful; he was obliged in consequence to take a journey to London, to endeavour to raise some money amongst his friends. In a letter to the archbishop, dated August 7, 1702, he mentions several sums which he received from eminent persons: the Dean of Exeter, £10; Dr. Stanley, £10; Archbishop of Canterbury, £10 10*s.*; "and even my lord Marquis of Normanby, by my good lady's solicitations succeeding your Grace's, did verily and indeed, with his own hand, give me twenty guineas, and my lady five. With these and other sums I made up about sixty pounds, and came home joyful enough, thanked God, paid as many debts as I could, quieted the rest of my creditors, took the management of my house into my own hands, and had ten guineas left to take my harvest."

The reader will recollect why Mr. Wesley mentions so particularly, and with surprise, the gift of twenty guineas from the Marquis of Normanby—the insult offered to his mistress, whom Mr. Wesley handed out of his house; in consequence of which he was obliged to resign the living of South Ormsby, which had been given or procured for him by that nobleman. (See p. 108, *ante*.)

The following question appears in the Athenian Oracle; and I am inclined to think, from the subject-matter, that it applies to the Rev. S. Wesley and his patron the marquis.

Question. I am a chaplain in a certain family, which is not so regular and religious as I could wish it. I am forced to see misses, drinking, gaming, &c., and dare not open my mouth against them. I would gladly be satisfied what is the duty of a chaplain in this or other cases, and how far he is obliged to take care of the morals of the family he lives in? Your answer may be of use to a great many besides myself; for I

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cannot believe that to say grace, and read prayers (now and then when my patron is at leisure), is all the duty of a chaplain.

Answer. The pulpit is a privileged place, where, as custom has given you authority to speak, so you may with prudence moderate your discourse, as either to accomplish a reformation, or at least acquit yourself, and discharge your own duty. Righteousness, temperance, and the judgment to come, if reasoned upon as they were almost seventeen ages since, may find a second Felix. The pulpit (as we said before) is the most (sometimes the only) proper place to convince strangers of their faults, but private retirements are convenient for friends and familiars. These are rules of latitude; but all the world is reducible to one of them, and the practice is indispensable.—*Athenian Oracle*, vol. i., p. 542.

That the Marchioness of Normanby should have used her endeavours with the Marquis to get Mr. Wesley this donation, is not to be wondered at, for the above reason; and the Marquis himself, though highly incensed for the time, had good sense enough to see that the minister of God had done only his duty in the matter which had given his lordship so much displeasure. And that the Marchioness continued to assist the necessities of the rector of Epworth, is evident from the dedication of his third edition of the New Testament to her ladyship, in which, as has been observed, though he mourns over the loss of his late patroness, the queen, he yet "rejoices that the marchioness survives."

In the same letter a very grievous and distressing occurrence is thus related. After mentioning the joy he felt on being enabled to discharge so many small debts, in

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consequence of which he was permitted to take his own harvest, he adds,

"But he that's born to be a poet must, I am afraid, live and die so (that is, poor), for on the last of July, 1702, a fire broke out in my house, by some sparks which took hold of the thatch this dry time, and consumed about two-thirds of it before it could be quenched. I was at the lower end of the town to visit a sick person, and thence to R. Cogan's. As I was returning, they brought me the news. I got one of his horses, rode up, and heard by the way that my wife, children, and books were saved; for which God be praised, as well as for what He has taken. They were all together in my study, and the fire under them. When it broke out she got two of the children in her arms, and ran through the smoke and fire; but one of them was left in the hurry, till the other cried for her, and the neighbours ran in and got her out through the fire, as they did my books, and most of my goods; this very paper amongst the rest, which I afterwards found, as I was looking over what was saved.

"I find 'tis some happiness to have been miserable; for my mind has been so blunted with former misfortunes, that this scarce made any impression upon me. I shall go on, by God's assistance, to take my tithe; and, when that's in, to rebuild my house, having at last crowded my family into what's left, and not missing many of my goods.

"I humbly ask your Grace's pardon for this long melancholy story, and leave to subscribe myself

"Your Grace's

"ever obliged and most humble servant,

"S. WESLEY."

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It is rather singular that on the sheet of paper on which this letter is written, he had begun a letter to the archbishop in the last month, having just written these words,—

"*Epworth, July* 25, 1702.

"My Lord,"

Not having time then to proceed, this sheet lay ready in his study for his farther entries; was saved out of the fire with the rest of his books and papers, the fire having consumed about four square inches of the lower corner of the fly leaf. On this burnt paper was the above letter written. It lies before me, a monument of God's mercy in preserving from so near a death his wife and children. The stains of the water that helped to quench the burning are still evident on the paper. It was in the following year that the founder of the Methodists was born.

Mr. Wesley speaks of the fire being occasioned "by some sparks which took hold of the thatch." The house was of such materials as rendered it exceedingly liable to damage by fire. It was a very humble dwelling; and I am enabled to lay before the reader a perfect description of the whole building, from the most authentic source; a survey taken June 19, Anno Regni Jacobi, D. Gr. 4 and 40, A. D. 1607, i. e., in the fourth year of King James's reign in England, and fortieth in Scotland.

Epworth Rectoria. A Survey or Terrier of all the Possessions belonging to the Rectorie of Epworth, made and taken by the viewe Perambulation and Estimate of the Minister, Churchwardens and sidesmen

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and others, inhabitants, these being nominated and appointed by William Folkingham, gent., General Surveyor of Church gleabs and possessions within the Diocese of Lincoln, by virtue of a Commission decreed by the Revd. Father in God, William, L. Bishoppe of Lincoln, in execution of the Canon on that behalf established.

Imprimis. The Horne Stall, or Scite of the Parsonage, situate and lyenge betweene the field on the East, and Lancaster Lane on the West; and abuttinge upon the Heigh Street on the South, and of John Maw (sonne of Thomas) his tennement, and a Croft on the North: and contayns by Estimation 3 Acres.

Item. One Hemp Kiln that hath been usealeie occupied for the Parsonage ground, adjoyning upon the South.

Item. Within the said Bounds are conteined the PARSONAGE HOUSE, consisting of 5 Baies, built all of timber and plaister, and covered with straw thache, the whole building being contrived into 3 stories, and disposed in 7 cheife Rooms, viz.: A Kitchinge, a Hall, a Parlour, a Butterie, and three large upper rooms; besydes some others of common use; and also a little garden empailed, betweene the stone wall and the South, on the South.

Item. One Barn of 6 Baies, built all of timber and clay walls, and covered with straw thache; and out shotts about it, and one free house therebye.

Item. One Dovecoate of Timber and Plaister, covered with straw thache," &c.

As the rest of this terrier refers to the glebe lands belonging to the rectory, it is unnecessary to transcribe

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it. Only one thing may be noticed, that about twenty-seven acres that originally belonged to this rectory are not now to be found, as the boundaries in the description are no longer capable of being ascertained.

Such was the parsonage house at Epworth, which by this fire was nearly consumed; and which, in a few years afterwards, was totally burnt down, and rebuilt at Mr. Wesley's own expense; which house remains to the present day, in all respects greatly superior to the preceding.

The Archbishop, to whom this account was sent, came forward both with his purse and his influence, as on former occasions; and this produced the following letter, drawn up in the true spirit of gratitude, and in language at once deeply pious, and highly dignified.

"*Epworth, Mart.* 20, 1703.

"My Lord,

"I have heard that all great men have the art of forgetfulness, but never found it in such perfection as in your Lordship: only it is in a different way from others; for most forget their *promises*, but your Grace those *benefits* you have conferred. I am pretty confident your Grace neither reflects on nor imagines how much you have done for me; nor what sums I have received by your lordship's bounty and favour; without which I had been, ere this, mouldy in a jail, and sunk a thousand fathom below nothing.

"Will your Grace permit me to show you an account of some of them?

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	£	s.	d.
From the Marchioness of Normanby . . .	20	0	0
The Lady Northampton (I think) . . .	20	0	0
Duke of Buckingham and Duchess, 2 years since	26	17	6
The Queen *	43	0	0
The Bishop of Sarum	40	0	0
The Archbishop of York, at least . . .	10	0	0
Besides lent to (almost) a desperate debtor .	25	0	0
	184	17	6

"A frightful sum, if one saw it all together; but it is beyond thanks, and I must never hope to perform that as I ought till another world; where, if I get first into the harbour, I hope none shall go before me in welcoming your lordship into everlasting habitations; where you will be no more tired with my follies, nor concerned at my misfortunes. However, I may pray for your Grace while I have breath, and that for something nobler than this world can give; it is for the increase of God's favour, of the light of his countenance, and of the foretastes of those joys, the firm belief whereof can only support us in this weary wilderness. And, if it be not too bold a request, I beg your Grace would not forget me, though it be but in your prayer for all sorts and conditions of men; among whom, as none has been more obliged to your Grace, so I am sure none ought to have a deeper sense of it than

"Your Grace's most dutiful,
"and most humble servant,
"S. WESLEY."

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* Samuel Wesley, jun., does not overlook the benefactions which the queen bestowed on his father, for in his Poems he says of her:

"In deserts wild the prophet's sons she fed,
And made the hungry ravens bring them bread."
12mo. edit., p. 142.

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In May, 1705, there was a contested election for the county of Lincoln. Sir John Thorold, and a person called "the Champion," Dymoke, the late members, were opposed by Colonel Whichcott and Mr. Alb. Bertie. Mr. Wesley, supposing there was a design to raise up Presbyterianism over the church, and that Whichcott and Bertie were favourable to it (in consequence of which the dissenters were all in their interest), espoused the other party; which happening to be unpopular and unsuccessful, he was exposed to great insult and danger; not only by the mobs, but by some leading men of the successful faction. There is before me a long account of these shameful transactions, in two letters written to Archbishop Sharp, from which I shall extract only a few particulars:

"I went to Lincoln on Tuesday night, May 29th; and the election began on Wednesday, 30th. A great part of the night our Isle people kept drumming, shouting, and firing of pistols and guns under the window where my wife lay; who had been brought to bed not three weeks. I had put the child to nurse over against my own house: the noise kept his nurse waking till one or two in the morning. Then they left off; and the nurse being heavy to sleep, overlaid the child. She waked; and finding it dead, ran over with it to my house, almost distracted; and calling my servants, threw it into their arms. They, as wise as she, ran up with it to my wife; and before she was well awake, threw it cold and dead into hers. She composed herself as well as she could, and that day got it buried.

"A clergyman met me in the castle yard, and told me to withdraw, for the Isle men intended me a mischief. Another told me he had heard near twenty of them say, "If they got me in the castle yard, they would squeeze my

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guts out." My servant had the same advice. I went by Gainsbro', and God preserved me.

"When they knew I was got home, they sent the drum and mob, with guns, &c., as usual, to compliment me till after midnight. One of them passing by on Friday evening, and seeing my children in the yard, cried out, 'O ye devils! we will come and turn ye all out of doors a begging shortly.' God convert them, and forgive them!

"All this, thank God, does not in the least sink my wife's spirits. For my own, I feel them disturbed and disordered; but for all that, I am going on with my reply to Palmer; which, whether I am in prison or out of it, I hope to get finished by the next session of Parliament, for I have now no more regiments to lose.

"S. WESLEY."

"*Epworth, June 7th*, 1705."

As I totally disapprove a minister of the gospel entering into party politics, and especially into electioneering affairs, I cannot but blame Mr. Wesley for the part he took in these transactions; for, even according to his own showing, he acted imprudently, and laid himself open to those who waited for his halting, and who seemed to think they did God service by doing him a mischief; because they knew him to be a high churchman, and consequently an enemy to their religious system. He was in their power; under pecuniary obligations to some principal men among them; and he was often led to understand, by no obscure intimations, that he must either immediately discharge those obligations, which he required time to enable him to do, or else expect to be shortly lodged in Lincoln Castle. These were not vain threats: they had already contrived to strip him of his

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chaplaincy to Colonel Lepelle's regiment; and how much farther they proceeded the following letter to the Archbishop of York will tell:—

"*Lincoln Castle, June 25th*, 1705.

"My Lord,

"Now I am at rest, for I am come to the haven where I've long expected to be. On Friday last [June 23], when I had been in christening a child at Epworth, I was arrested in my church-yard by one who had been my servant, and gathered my tithe last year, at the suit of one of Mr. Whichcott's relations and zealous friends [Mr. Pinder], according to their promise, when they were in the Isle before the election. The sum was not thirty pounds; but it was as good as five hundred. Now they knew the burning of my flax, my London journey, and their throwing me out of my regiment, had both sunk my credit, and exhausted my money. My adversary was sent to, when I was on the road, to meet me, that I might make some proposals to him. But all his answer (which I have by me) was, that 'I must immediately pay the whole sum, or go to prison.' Thither I went, with no great concern for myself; and find much more civility and satisfaction here than in *brevibus gyaris* of my own Epworth. I thank God, my wife was pretty well recovered, and churched some days before I was taken from her; and hope she'll be able to look to my family, if they don't turn them out of doors, as they have often threatened to do. One of my biggest concerns was my being forced to leave my poor lambs in the midst of so many wolves. But the great Shepherd is able to provide for them, and to preserve them. My wife bears it with that courage which becomes her, and which I expected from her.

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"I don't despair of doing some good here (and so long I sha'n't quite lose the end of living), and it may be, do more in this new parish than in my old one; for I have leave to read prayers every morning and afternoon here in the prison, and to preach once a Sunday, which I choose to do in the afternoon, when there is no sermon at the minster. And I'm getting acquainted with my brother jail-birds as fast as I can; and shall write to London next post, to the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, who, I hope, will send me some books to distribute among them.

"I should not write these things from a jail if I thought your Grace would believe me ever the less for my being here; where, if I should lay my bones, I'd bless God, and pray for your Grace.

"Your Grace's very obliged
"and most humble servant,
"S. WESLEY."

It was not likely that a tale so afflictive as the preceding should leave the pious heart of the good Archbishop Sharp unaffected. He wrote to Mr. Wesley on the 30th a kind letter, stating his sympathy, and what he had heard against him; especially as to his great obligation to Colonel Whichcott, &c. This letter he immediately answers; gives a satisfactory exposé of all his affairs; his debts, and how they were contracted; at the same time showing that the reports which had reached the ears of his Grace were perfectly false, and adduces proof; and concludes this part of his letter with pathetically entreating his Grace "not to be in haste to credit what they report of me, for really lies are the manufacture of the party; and they have raised so many against

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me, and spread them so wide, that I am sometimes tempted to print my case in my own vindication."

I shall give another extract from this letter, which satisfactorily accounts for the way in which his heavy debts were contracted, and how his consequent embarrassments arose:—

"*Lincoln Castle, July 10th*, 1705.

"My Lord,

"——— Then I am not forgotten, neither by God nor your lordship.——My debts are about £300, which I have contracted by a series of misfortunes not unknown to your Grace. The falling of my parsonage barn, before I had recovered the taking my living; the burning great part of my dwelling-house about two years since, and all my flax last winter; the fall of my income nearly one half, by the low price of grain; the almost entire failure of my flax this year, which used to be the better half of my revenue; with my numerous family, and the taking this regiment from me, which I had obtained with so much expense and trouble; have at last crushed me, though I struggled as long as I was able. Yet I hope to rise again, as I have always done when at the lowest; and I think I cannot be much lower now."

Party spirit, especially in political matters, is the great disgrace and curse of England. This spirit knows no friend; feels no obligation; is unacquainted with all dictates of honesty, charity, and mercy; and leaves no stone unturned to ruin the object of its hate. We have elections by law no more than once in seven years; and the mischief that is then done to the moral character of the nation is scarcely repaired in the succeeding seven. All the charities of life are outraged and trampled under

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foot by it; common honesty is not heard, and lies and defamation go abroad by wholesale. The rascal *many* catch the evil reports which the opposed candidates and their committees spread of each other, and the characters of the best men in the land are wounded and lie bleeding, till slow-paced oblivion cancels the remembrance of the transactions which gave them birth. Even now, when the nation is improved in its morals to an astonishing degree, these evils live in mighty vigour and gigantic form. What, then, must they have been more than a hundred years ago, when the nation was torn by civil and religious factions, and when a man knew not his own kindred but as they were arranged with him under his own creed, and the banner of his party?

Mr. Wesley and his family had already suffered much through the rage, and I may add malice, of the political party, the interests of which his conscience would not permit him to espouse. And he had his reasons; he knew the party, their views, and their designs; and he had counted the cost, for he well knew the penalty annexed to his opposition. They were not content with loading him with obloquies, and casting him into prison, but proceeded further to destroy his family, by drying up the sources whence they derived the necessaries of life! The following letter to the archbishop gives terrible proof of this implacable malevolence.

"*Lincoln Castle, Sept. 12th*, 1705.

"My Lord,

"'Tis happy for me that your Grace has entertained no ill opinion of me, and won't alter what you have entertained without reason. But it is still happier that I serve a Master who cannot be deceived, and who, I am sure, will never forsake me. A jail is a paradise in com-

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parison of the life I led before I came hither. No man has worked truer for bread than I have done, and few have lived harder, or their families either. I am grown weary of vindicating myself; not, I thank God, that my spirits sink, or that I have not right of my side, but because I have almost a whole world against me, and therefore shall in the main leave my cause to the righteous Judge."

He goes on to mention two points in which he was cruelly misrepresented, as if certain evils done to him had come by accident, or were done by himself. What particularly concerns the present Memoir is the following:—

"The other matter is concerning the stabbing my cows in the night since I came hither, but a few weeks ago; and endeavouring thereby to starve my forlorn family in my absence; my cows being all dried by it, which was their chief subsistence; though I hope they had not the power to kill any of them outright.

"They found out a good expedient, after it was done, to turn it off, and divert the cry of the world against them; and it was to spread a report that my own brawn did this mischief; though at first they said my cows ran against a scythe and wounded themselves.

"As for the brawn, I think any impartial jury would bring him in not guilty, on hearing the evidence. There were three cows all wounded at the same time, one of them in three places: the biggest was a flesh wound, not slanting but directly in, towards the heart, which it only missed by glancing outward on the rib. It was nine inches deep; whereas the brawn's tusks were hardly two inches long. All conclude that the work

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was done with a sword, by the breadth and shape of the orifice. The same night the iron latch of my door was twined off, and the wood hacked in order to shoot back the lock, which nobody will think was with an intention to rob my family. My house-dog, who made a huge noise within doors, was sufficiently punished for his want of politics and MODERATION; for the next day but one his leg was almost chopped off by an unknown hand. 'Tis not every one could bear these things: but, I bless God, my wife is less concerned with suffering them than I am in the writing, or than I believe your Grace will be in reading them. She is not what she is represented, any more than me. I believe it was this foul beast of a worse-than-Erymanthean boar, already mentioned, who fired my flax by rubbing his tusks against the wall; but that was no great matter, since it is now reported I had but five pounds loss.

"O my lord! I once more repeat it, that I shall some time have a more equal Judge than any in this world.

"Most of my friends advise me to leave Epworth, if e'er I should get from hence. I confess I am not of that mind, because I may yet do good there; and 'tis like a coward to desert my post because the enemy fire thick upon me. They have only wounded me yet, and, I believe, CAN'T kill me. I hope to be at home by Xmas. God help my poor family! For myself, I have but one life: but while that lasts, shall be,

"Your Grace's ever obliged

"and most humble servant,

"S. WESLEY."

He speaks of his friends advising him to leave Epworth; and this will explain, perhaps, the following question proposed to the Athenian Society, most probably by Mr.

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Wesley himself, with a view to meet the eyes of his friends.

Question. "A beneficed clergyman, being indebted to seven creditors, who will not accept of such payments as his circumstances enable him to make, is constrained to absent from his living, to avoid a prison. Ought he to resign the living, since he cannot personally attend it; or can the bishop lawfully deprive him of it, an able curate being kept upon the place?"

Answer. "He ought, first, to consider with himself whether his own extravagance or folly has not reduced him to such extremities, there being not many instances where a man keeps a good reputation, that his creditors will be so violent as these are here represented; but however he finds it, he is not, we think, obliged immediately to resign; since, though he cannot at present attend it in person, he may, perhaps, hereafter be in better circumstances. We humbly conceive his ordinary is not obliged to deprive him; nor can it fairly be done, if there be one who takes good care of his people in his absence; for should things come to the worst, a sequestration of the profits of the living might in time satisfy his creditors, and he himself might serve the cure, if it were not more advisable to get a chaplain's post at sea, or in the army; the readiest way to recover his shattered fortune."—*Athen. Oracle*, Vol. IV., p. 318.

As it was evident his sufferings were occasioned by the malice of those who hated both his ecclesiastical and state politics, the clergy, and several who were well affected to the government, lent him prompt and effectual assistance, so that in a short time more than half of his debts were paid, and all the rest in a train of being liquidated. These things he mentions with the highest

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gratitude in the following letter to the Archbishop of York:—

Lincoln Castle, 7r. [Sepr.] 17, 1705.

"My Lord,

"I am so full of God's mercies that neither my eyes nor heart can hold them. When I came hither, my stock was but little above ten shillings, and my wife's at home scarce so much. She soon sent me her rings, because she had nothing else to relieve me with; but I returned them, and God soon provided for me. The most of those who have been my benefactors keep themselves concealed. But they are all known to Him who first put it into their hearts to show me so much kindness; and I beg your Grace to assist me to praise God for it, and to pray for his blessing upon them.

"This day I have received a letter from Mr. Hoar,* that he has paid ninety-five pounds, which he has received from me. He adds that 'a very great man has just sent him thirty pounds more;' he mentions not his name, though surely it must be my patron. I find I walk a deal lighter; and hope I shall sleep better now these sums are paid, which will make almost half my debts. I am a bad beggar, and worse at returning formal thanks: but I can pray heartily for my benefactors; and I hope I shall do it while I live, and so long beg to be esteemed

"Your Grace's most obliged,

"and thankful humble servant,

"SAM. WESLEY."

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* Query. Is the gentleman who published the life of George Sharp, and the anecdote of the archbishop and highwayman, a descendant of this Mr. Hoar?—EDIT.

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I find no account of Mr. Wesley's liberation from Lincoln Castle, where he had now been for about three months; but I suppose it took place shortly after this, and that he was with his family at Christmas. He appears to have got on in life much more pleasantly than before; and the evil which his enemies intended him was turned to his advantage; the wrath of man praised God, and the remainder of it he restrained. I meet with no more complaints in his correspondence, which, with the Archbishop of York, appears to have been interrupted till the year 1707, when it was resumed on merely clerical business.*

I have already had occasion several times to refer to the poem on the Battle of Blenheim, which was written in 1705, and procured him a chaplainship in the army. This poem I had not seen in print, when the first edition of this work was presented to the public. Since then, it has been sent to me by my respected friend the Rev. James Everett. It is a folio pamphlet of twelve pages, "dedicated to the Right Honourable Master Godolphin, by Samuel Wesley, M. A. London, printed for Charles Harper, 1705." It contains 526 lines. But a corrected and enlarged copy, designed probably for a second edition, and written out in his best hand, by Mr. Wesley himself, and sent to the Archbishop of York, now lies before me, and may be finally lost, if not inserted in the memoirs. It contains five hundred and ninety-four lines, is entitled, "Marlborough, or the Fate of Europe," and will be found in an appendix at the close of this volume, No. I.

* Seventy-five years afterwards we find his son, John Wesley, preaching in the Castle-yard and Court-house, previous to which he had not visited the city for fifty years.

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This long poem would admit of much illustration: but as the transactions it records are all in common history, the reader can find little difficulty in furnishing himself with the necessary elucidations. Instead, therefore, of a tissue of notes, I shall give a general account of the battle, which Mr. Wesley has so largely sung:—

The battle is frequently called in our histories the battle of Hockstet; and also the battle of Blenheim or Pleytheim. HOCKSTET is a fortified town of Germany, on the north side of the Danube, about twenty-nine miles south-west of Ulm, and ten west by south of Donawert.

BLENHEIM is only a village in the late circle of Bavaria, on the north of the Danube, about three miles east of Hockstet, and thirty north-east of Ulm.

This famous battle was fought Aug. 13, 1704, between the French and Bavarians on the one side, commanded by Marshal Tallard and the Elector of Bavaria; and the Allies on the other, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy. The armies were nearly equal; the French had about 60,000 veteran troops, and the Allies about 52,000. The English, Imperialists, Dutch, and Danes, of which the allied army was composed, were among the bravest of men, and had been accustomed to conquer. The French troops were those whom their great monarch had led on to frequent victory; and had seldom been broken in the field, or showed their backs to an enemy.

Owing to some gross errors committed by Marshal Tallard, of which the Duke of Marlborough knew well how to avail himself, the French and Bavarians were defeated with the loss of nearly 40,000 men. Thirteen thousand were made prisoners, among whom were 1200 officers. Ten French battalions were entirely cut to pieces; thirty

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squadrons of horse and dragoons were forced into the Danube, most of whom were drowned. Marshal Tallard, owing to the imperfection of his sight, for he was extremely short-sighted, mistaking a battalion of the Hessians, who fought in the pay of England, for his own troops, rode among them, and was taken prisoner. Among the prisoners were several of the French nobility. The Marquis De Montperaux, general of the horse; De Seppeville, De Silly, and De la Valiere, major-generals: Monsieur De la Massiliere, St. Pouange, De Legendais, and several others of distinction.

The Allies gained above 100 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 129 colours, 171 standards, 17 pair of kettle-drums, 3,600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 laden mules, 2 bridges of boats, 14 pontoons, 24 barrels, and 8 casks of silver.

They lost 4,485 men killed, 7,525 wounded, and 273 lost or made prisoners; in all 12,283.

By this battle the Elector of Bavaria lost all his dominions, and the King of France the bravest of his armies; and by it the German empire, previously tottering to its centre, and trembling on the brink of total ruin, was freed from the French, and suddenly restored to its political consequence. It is not to be wondered at that the great hero under whose skill and management this important battle was gained, should be loaded with honours and emoluments by those in whose service he had conquered. The Emperor of Germany made him a prince of the empire, and assigned him Mindelsheim in Suabia, for his principality. This dignity Queen Anne not only permitted him to accept, but gave him the honour and manor of Woodstock, and the hundred of Wootton to him and his heirs for ever; and caused a palace to be built for him in Woodstock, called Blen-

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heim-house; which stands equally a monument of his victories, of British munificence, and of the skill of the artist by whom it was constructed.

The poem itself has passed its day of criticism; to attempt now to review its merits and defects, would be lost labour. It abounds in both: it has many verses which contain beauties of the very first order; and it has others which are both lame and tame, and even worse than prose. But its principal defects are, its great length, which is not sufficiently diversified with either fiction or incident to make it impressive, or even entertaining; and the very inadequate description of a battle which was fought with extraordinary obstinacy on both sides, and especially on the part of thirteen thousand French troops which were posted in Blenheim, and which all the power of the Allies could not dislodge, though they returned again and again to the attack, and sacrificed a majority of their infantry before this paltry village. Even when Marshal Tallard and the Elector of Bavaria were defeated, the brave troops which occupied the village kept their ground; and when, after the total route of the French and Bavarian lines, they were left without succour, and there was not a general officer to conduct their retreat, they seemed to capitulate like a strong garrison, rather than surrender themselves prisoners of war. Had not Mr. Wesley's prejudices against the French been carried to the highest pitch, his muse must have found in the conduct of those brave troops a subject equal to the highest flight of her strongest pinion.

When the Duke of Marlborough visited his illustrious prisoner, Marshal Tallard, after the battle, the Marshal paid him the highest compliment, by saying, "My Lord, you have conquered the bravest army in the world:"

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which compliment the Duke but ill repaid by answering, "I hope your Excellency will except those by whom they were vanquished." What a subject for the heroic muse! An army, among the bravest in Europe, led on by commanders worthy of their high trust, who were out-generalled and totally defeated by the only generals and troops in the universe which were capable of the fact. Here British glory might have been relieved and emblazoned by French bravery.

There is but one couplet in this poem, on which I shall make any remark. The poet, describing the French park of artillery, says,—

> "A wall of cannons, which in fire and smoke
> Their master's last and only reason spoke."
>
> Lines 229, 230.

This is an allusion to the motto which Louis XIV. placed on his brass ordnance, *Ultima ratio Regum*, "The last argument of Kings;" or, more compressedly, "The logic of Kings." Rightly paraphrased thus: *Sic volo; sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas.* "Thus I will; thus I command; and my will shall stand in the place of reason and justice." I have seen some of these very cannon, with this inscription. This was a logic to which the French have often resorted; and a logic with the rules of which the other powers of Europe are not unacquainted.

In December, 1709, complaint was made to parliament of two sermons published by Dr. Henry Sachaverel, rector of St. Saviour, Southwark, as containing positions contrary to the principles of the revolution, the present government, and the protestant succession. He was accordingly impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of England. The eyes

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of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks. Many of my readers will remember the famous speech which the doctor delivered on his defence; but few, perhaps, are aware that the celebrated speech he delivered on that occasion was composed by Samuel Wesley, the rector of Epworth, as his son John informs us in his History of England, vol. iv., p. 75: "When the Commons (says he) had gone through their charges, the managers for Sachaverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, which from the difference found between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another." And then in a note says: "It was wrote by the rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire.—J. W." Bishop Atterbury has been generally supposed to have penned this defence, because the doctor, in his will, left him a legacy of £500. But my readers may be sure that the Rev. John Wesley would never have spoken in such unqualified terms, had he not been assured of the fact as here stated.

That I may dismiss Mr. Wesley's poetry at once, there is a piece, of exquisite merit, entitled, "Eupolis' Hymn to the Creator," which was made either by him or his daughter, Mrs. Wright, or by both conjointly, which I shall introduce into the Appendix of this volume (see No. II.), but will here make a few general remarks.

1. The Hymn is attributed to Eupolis, an Athenian comic poet, who flourished in the lxxxviiith Olympiad, 428 years before the incarnation of our Lord. He was killed in a naval engagement between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; and his death was so much lamented at Athens, that they made a law that no poet should ever more bear arms. He is said to have written

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about twenty-four comedies, of which the names only are extant, and may be found in Fabricius' Bibl. Græc., vol. i., p. 761. He is mentioned several times by Horace, and once by Persius.

A work called Sententia, printed at Basil, 1560, 8vo., has been attributed to him. Of the present poem I shall speak more particularly at the conclusion.

2. This poem or hymn is preceded by a dialogue between Plato and Eupolis; but neither it nor the hymn has ever yet been given complete to the public. In the present copy, there are eighty-four whole lines which have never been in print before; and the dialogue is here, for the first time, given entire.

3. The original dialogue and hymn now lie before me; and were written partly by Mr. Samuel Wesley himself, and partly by another hand, supposed to be his daughter, Mrs. Wright. The dialogue is in the handwriting of Mr. Wesley, and all those lines marked with sections; all the rest is in the handwriting of the person already mentioned.

4. In those verses supposed to be written by Mrs. Wright, there are frequent alterations and emendations in her father's hand; but there is nothing of this kind in the verses written by him. Hence, one might be led to conclude that the former was the author of this beautiful hymn; but that several alterations were made in it by her father, who has added to the amount of thirty-four lines, which are here marked with sections. Yet the profound and frequent classical allusions argue the hand of a first-rate scholar, and seem to be far beyond what might be reasonably expected from any female of that time.

5. The lines printed here for the first time, and which

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are eighty-four in number, are distinguished by small asterisks.

6. I have added a series of notes on the more difficult expressions and allusions, which otherwise might embarrass common readers.

7. In the critique offered, I join, without noticing Mrs. Wright, the general voice, in attributing the hymn to the rector of Epworth.

After taking so much pains with the poem, as the notes will testify, and producing it entire, which was never done before, some of my readers will naturally expect that I should either insert or refer to the Greek original. Could I have met in Greek with a hymn of Eupolis to the Creator, and the fragment of an unpublished dialogue of Plato, I should have inserted both with the greatest cheerfulness, and could have assured myself of the thanks of all the critics in Europe for my pains. That such a Greek original exists, and that the above is a faithful translation from it, is the opinion of most who have seen the poem; and some of Mr. Wesley's biographers have adduced it, "as being one of the finest pictures extant of Gentile piety;" and farther tells us, "this hymn may throw light on that passage of St. Paul respecting the heathen, Rom. i. 21, &c.: 'When they knew God, they glorified him not as God. Wherefore God gave them up,' &c. Their polytheism was a punishment consequent upon their apostasy from God." I believe those Gentiles never apostatized from the true God, the knowledge of whom they certainly never had, till they received it by divine revelation.

Knowing that the writers from whom I have quoted the above, were well educated and learned men, and feeling an intense desire to find out this "finest picture

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extant of Gentile piety," I have sought occasionally for above thirty years to find this original, but in vain. I have examined every Greek writer within my reach, particularly all the major and minor poets; but no hymn of Eupolis, or of any other, from which the above might be a translation, has ever occurred to me. I have inquired of learned men whether they had met with such a poem. None had seen it! After many fruitless searches and inquiries, I went to Professor Porson, perhaps the most deeply learned and extensively read Greek scholar in Europe, and laid the subject and the question before him. He answered, "Eupolis, from the character we have of him, is the last man among the Greek poets from whom we could expect to see any thing pious or sublime concerning the divine nature: but you may rest assured that no such composition is extant in Greek." Of this I was sufficiently convinced before; but I thought it well to have the testimony of a scholar so eminent, that the question might be set at rest.

The reader, therefore, may rest assured that Eupolis' hymn to the Creator is the production of the head and heart of Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth; that it never had any other origin, and never existed in any other language. It may be considered as a fine, and in general very successful, attempt to imitate a Greek poet, who was master of the full power and harmony of his language, and had imbibed from numberless lectures the purest and most sublime ideas in the philosophy of Plato. The character of the platonist is wonderfully preserved throughout the whole; the conceptions are all worthy of the subject; the Grecian history and mythology are woven through it with exquisite art; and it is so like a finished work from the highest cultivated Greek muse, that I receive the evidence of my reason and

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research with regret, when it assures me that this inimitable hymn was the production of the Isle-poet of Axholm. Should any of my readers be dissatisfied with the result of my inquiries, and still think that Eupolis' hymn to the Creator exists in Greek, and will go in quest of this Sangreal, he shall have my best wishes for the good speed of his searches, and, when successful, my heartiest thanks.

"But if the hymn of Eupolis be a forgery, what becomes of the veracity, not to say honesty, of Mr. Samuel Wesley?" I answer, it is no forgery; it is nowhere said by him that it is a translation of the Greek original; nor does it appear that he had any intention to deceive. Two words in the title are proof sufficient. "The (supposed) occasion," and, "part of (a new) Dialogue." He covered his design a little, to make his readers search and examine. Some of them have not examined; and therefore said of the poem, that it is a fine specimen of Gentile piety, which he never even intended. From the many oblique references to the history of his own times, and from the apparent accommodation of ancient facts to that history, I am led to think the author had a double design: 1. To try how far pure Platonic ideas could be applied in the praises, and in describing the perfections, of that God who has revealed himself to mankind; and, secondly, to give a useful lesson to his own times, relative to that restless spirit of republicanism which had levelled the major part of this kingdom. On this second consideration, it would be easy to form a useful critique on the whole poem; the grand moral of which is: "God is the Fountain and Author of all good; he governs the world by a wise and gracious providence; his wisdom is so perfect that he cannot err; his goodness is so great that he can do nothing evil; as he is

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infinitely merciful, he must always be kind. Subjection to his providence under all dispensations is true wisdom; and to rebel against his government is folly and madness. Kingly government is from himself; but he permits tyrants to become the scourge of an ungrateful and disobedient people.

> "To tyrants made an easy prey,
> Who would not godlike kings obey:
> Tyrants and kings from Jove proceed;
> *Those* are permitted, *these* decreed."

I have spent a long time on this poem, because I believe it to be, without exception, the finest on the subject in the English language. It possesses what Racine calls the *genie createur*, the genuine spirit of poetry. Pope's Messiah is fine, because Pope had Virgil's Pollio before him, and the bible. Mr. Wesley takes nothing as a model; he goes on the ground that the praises of the one Supreme had not been sung; he attempts what had not been done by any poet before the Platonic age, and he has no other helps than those furnished by his poetic powers and classical knowledge. It is not saying too much to assert, the man who was the author of what is called "Eupolis' Hymn to the Creator," had he taken time, care, and pains, and had not been continually harassed with the *res angusta domi*, would have adorned the highest walks of poetry. But to him poverty was the scourge of knowledge; and he fully experienced the truth of that maxim of the Roman satirist, from which I have quoted the above three words:—

> Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
> Res angusta domi. Juv. Sat. iii., ver. 164.
>
> Rarely they rise by Learning's aid, who lie
> Plunged in the depth of helpless poverty.

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But he spent his time in something better than making verses; he was a laborious and useful parish priest; and educated a numerous family of males and females, who were a credit to him and to their country. But more of this in its place.

I have already mentioned a letter written by his brother Matthew to him, from which I have given an extract, with some short observations, and promised Mr. S. Wesley's reply. The letter is without a date; but this seems a proper place to introduce it. It contains a connected series of domestic facts, from his own pen, which cast some light upon that part of his history which is past, as well as on that which is yet to be produced.

It is written in a serio-jocose style; and is supposed to be communicated by a third person, who, having seen the letter of Mr. Matthew Wesley, handed the same to his brother Samuel, "that he might know what the left-handed part of the world said of him." The letter is headed, *John o' Styles' Apology against the imputation of his ill husbandry.* The reader will recollect that the main charge brought by Surgeon Wesley against his brother was this, that "although he had a plentiful estate, and great and generous benefactions, yet he had made no provision for his numerous progeny;" "that this was a black account," &c.; and he calls him to "repentance, and to study the doctrine of restitution, that from a serious consideration of these things, he might prepare for the kingdom of heaven," &c. The pretended narrator goes on:—

"When I had read this to my friend John o' Styles, I was a little surprised that he did not fall into flouncing and bouncing, as I have too often seen him do on far less provocation; which I ascribed to a fit of sickness he

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had lately had, and which I hope may have brought him to something of a better mind. He stood calm and composed for a minute or two, and then desired he might peruse the letter, adding, that if the matter of fact therein were true, and not aggravated or misrepresented, he was obliged in conscience to acknowledge it, and ask pardon at least of his family, if he could make them no other satisfaction. If it were not true, he owed that justice to himself and his family, to clear himself, if possible, of so vile an imputation. After he had read it over, he said he did not think it necessary to enter into a detail of the history of his whole life, from sixteen to upwards of seventy, in order to the vindication of his conduct in all the particulars of it: but the method he chose, which he hoped would be satisfactory to all unprejudiced persons, would be to make some general observations on those general accusations which have been brought against him; and then to add some balance of his incomes and expenses ever since he entered on the stage of life.

"He observes, that all his indictment consists of generals, wherein fraud almost always lurks, and it is next to impossible for the clearest character to free itself entirely from it.

The sum of the libel may be reduced to the following assertions: 1. That John o' Styles is worse than an infidel, and therefore can never go to heaven; which 2dly, he aims at proving—because he provides not for his own house; as notorious instances of which he adds, in the 3rd place, That in pursuit of his pleasures he had produced a numerous offspring; and has had a long time a plentiful estate, and great and generous benefactors, but yet has made no provision for those of his own house;

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which he thinks, in the last place, a black account, let the cause be folly or vanity, or his own irregular passions.

Answer. If God has blessed him with a numerous offspring, he has no reason to be ashamed of them, nor they of him, unless perhaps one of them; and if he had but that single one, it might have proved no honour or support to his name and family. Neither does his conscience accuse him that he has made no provision for those of his own house; which general accusation includes them all. But has he none, nay, not above one, two, or three, to whom he has (and some of them at very considerable expenses) given the best education which England could afford, by God's blessing on which they live honourably and comfortably in the world? some of whom have already been a considerable help to the others, as well as to himself; and he has no reason to doubt the same of the rest, as soon as God shall enable them to do it; and there are many gentlemen's families in England, who by the same method provide for their younger children. And he hardly thinks that there are many of greater estates, but would be glad to change the best of theirs, or even all their stock, for almost the worst of his. Neither is he ashamed of claiming some merit in his having been so happy in breeding them up in his own principles and practices; not only the priests of his family, but all the rest, to a steady opposition and confederacy against all such as are avowed and declared enemies to God and his clergy; and who deny or disbelieve any articles of natural or revealed religion, as well as to such as are open or secret friends to the Great Rebellion; or to any such principles as do but

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squint towards the same practices; so that he hopes they are all staunch high-church, and for inviolable passive obedience; from which if any of them should be so wicked as to degenerate, he can't tell whether he could prevail with himself to give them his blessing; though at the same time he almost equally abhors all servile submission to the greatest and most overgrown tool of state, whose avowed design it is to aggrandize his prince at the expense of the liberties and properties of his free-born subjects. Thus much for John o' Styles' ecclesiastical and political creed; and, as he hopes, for those of his family. And as his adversary adds, that 'at his exit they could have nothing in view but distress; and that it is a black account, let the cause be folly or vanity, or ungovernable appetites;' John o' Styles answered: He has not the least doubt of God's provision for his family after his decease, if they continue in the way of righteousness, as well as for himself while he has been living. As for his folly, he owns he can hardly demur to the charge; for he fairly acknowledges he never was, nor ever will be, like the children of this world, who are accounted wise in their generation, in doting upon this world, courting this world, and regarding nothing else: not but that he has all his life laboured truly both with his hands, head, and heart, to provide things honest in the sight of all men; to get his own living, and that of those who have been dependants on him.

"As for his vanity, he challenges an instance to be given of any extravagance in any single branch of his expenses, through the whole course of his life, either in dress, diet, horses, or recreation, or diversion, either in himself or family.

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"Now if these, which are the main objections, are wiped off, what becomes of the black account, or of the worse than infidelity, which this Severus Frater et Avunculus Puerorum has in the plenitude of his power (as he takes upon himself to have the full power of the keys) urged, to exclude those who, for want of equal illumination, or equal estates, think or act differently from himself, out of the kingdom of heaven?

"As for the plentiful estate, and great and generous benefactions, which he likewise mentions; as to the latter of them, the person accused answered, that he could never acknowledge as he ought the goodness of God, and of his generous benefactors, on that occasion; but hopes he may add, that he had never tasted so much of their kindness if they had not believed him to be an honest man. Thus much he said in general, but added as to particular instances, he should only add a blank balance, and leave it to any after his death, if they should think it worth while, to cast it up according to common equity, and then they would be more proper judges whether he deserved those imputations which are now thrown upon him.

"*Imprimis.* When he first walked to Oxford, he had in cash	£2	5	0
"He lived there till he took his bachelor's degree, without any preferment or assistance, except one crown	0	5	0
"By God's blessing on his own industry, he brought to London	10	15	0
"When he came to London, he got deacon's orders, and a cure, for which he had, for one year	28	0	0

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"In which year, for his board, ordination, and habit, he was indebted 30*l.*, which he afterwards paid 30 0 0

"Then he went to sea, where he had for one year 70*l.*, not paid till two years after his return 70 0 0

"He then got a curacy at 30*l.* per annum for two years, and by his own industry in writing, &c., he made it 60*l.* per annum . 120 0 0

"He married, and had a son; and he and his wife and child boarded for some years in or near London without running into debt.

"He had then a living* given him in the country, let for 50*l.* per annum, where he had five children more;† in which time, and while he lived in London, he wrote a book,‡ which he dedicated to Queen Mary, who for that reason gave him a living in the country,‖ valued at 200*l.* per annum, where he remained for nearly forty years, and wherein his numerous offspring amounted with the former to eighteen or nineteen children.

"Half of his parsonage-house was first burnt, which he rebuilt: sometime after, the whole was burnt to the ground, which he rebuilt from the foundations; and it cost him above 400*l.*, besides the furniture, none of which was saved; and he was forced to renew it.

"About ten years since§ he got a little living adjoin-

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* South Ormsby.

† Susannah, Emilia, Annesley, Jedidiah, and Susannah the 2nd.

‡ The Life of Christ. ‖ Epworth.

§ It is said by Dr. Whitehead that he got the living of Wroote, in 1723; but it appears from the letter to the Chancellor, p. 315, that it was 1725. If so, this letter must have been written but a

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ing* to his former; the profits of which very little more than defrayed the expenses of serving it, and sometimes hardly so much; his whole tithe having been in a manner swept away by inundations, for which the parishioners had a brief, though he thought it not decent for himself to be joined with them in it.

"For the greater part of these last ten years he has been closely employed in composing a large book,† whereby be hoped he might have done some benefit to the world, and in some measure amended his own fortunes. By sticking so close to this, he has broke a pretty strong constitution, and fallen into the palsy and gout. Besides this, he has had sickness in his family for most of the years since he was married.

"His greater living seldom cleared above eightscore pounds per annum, out of which he allowed 20*l.* per annum to a person‡ who had married one of his daughters.|| Could we on the whole fix the balance, it would easily appear whether he had been an ill husband, or careless and idle, and taken no care of his family. Let us range on the one side his income, and on the other his expenses, while he has been at the top of his fortunes, taking them at the full extent.

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few months prior to his death. Only twenty lines of this letter are in his own hand-writing. Mrs. Wesley has continued it to the end of the second paragraph on p. 236; and Mr. John Wesley has finished it as the principal amanuensis. For here it is evident, to use his own words, "Time had shaken him by the hand, and Death was not far behind."

* Wroote.

† Dissertationes in Librum Jobi.

‡ Mr. Whitelamb. || Mary Wesley.

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	£		£
"His income about £200 per annum for near forty years	8000	"Expended in sickness for above forty years .	——
		"Expenses in taking his livings, repairing the houses, &c. . . .	160
		"Rebuilding part of his house the first time .	60
		"Rebuilding the whole house	400
		"Furnishing it	——
		"Eight children born and buried	——
		"Ten* (thank God!) living, brought up and educated	——
		"Most of the daughters put out to a way of living	——
		"To three sons† for the best education I could get them in England .	——
		"Attending the convocation, three years . .	150

"Let all this be balanced, and then a guess may be easily made of his sorry management.

"He can struggle with the world, but not with Providence; nor can he resist sicknesses, fires, and inundations."

In his family exigencies Mr. Wesley was frequently obliged to borrow money; but such was his character for probity, honour, and punctuality, that he could command

* The ten then alive were Samuel, Emily, Mary, Ann, Susanna, John, Mehetabel, Matthew, Charles, and Kezziah.

† Samuel, John, and Charles, these were the three.

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it wheresoever it was to be had. There was a man of considerable property in Epworth, who was in the habit of lending out money at 35 and 40*l.* per cent. Mr. Wesley was obliged sometimes to borrow from this usurer; and although this man was devoured by the *auri sacra fames*, yet such was his esteem for an upright character, that in no case did he ever take from Mr. W. more than legal interest for the use of his money.

I need not tell the reader that the letter is a most complete and happy confutation of his brother's charges, and of those who have felt inclined to repeat them; and when we consider his expenses and the numerous family he brought up, we may be well surprised how, with so small an annual income, he was able to meet and cover such great demands. He had spared neither pains nor cost on the education of his children. I have seen letters from most of them, full of mind and strong sense; and the writing, especially that of the females, remarkably correct and elegant. As to the three sons, Samuel, John, and Charles, we know the men and their education by their works. Some of the daughters were by no means inferior to the sons.

From the preceding letter we see, that his church and state principles were of the highest order; and that he was nevertheless an enemy to arbitrary power. Of the former, his whole life gave proof; of the latter, we have an instance in his refusal to read the declaration of King James II. in favour of popery. It may be necessary here to state, that the king, by the advice of Judge Jeffries, had instituted a standing court of delegates, called "the Ecclesiastical Commission," the numbers of which were nominated by himself, and consisted indifferently of protestants and catholics. James, in furtherance of his design for the subversion of the established religion,

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and by virtue of the dispensing power decreed to him by the judges, issued his royal declaration, April 4th, 1687, having in the preceding February granted a like act of grace to his Scottish subjects. This requisition was so generally repugnant to the great body of the clergy, that only about two hundred complied with it.

The parliament resented this as a high violation of the laws; yet the dissenters took no warning, but embraced and defended the declaration under King James; and one would almost stand amazed at their assurance, in accusing the clergy and universities of betraying the rights of the subject to that unfortunate prince, when all the world knows, that if they had not stood in the gap which the dissenters had made, though they did this with imminent hazard of all they had, by refusing to submit to the "Ecclesiastical Commission," or read the illegal declaration, neither we nor the dissenters should, in all probability, long ere this, have had any rights left to dispute about; but popery and absolute power had swallowed all, and effectually decided the controversy between us.

Mr. Wesley, in his reply to Palmer, p. 23, says, "Whatever guard the clergy and universities then had, it did not hinder them from being outed of their freeholds in considerable numbers, whereof I was a witness when at Oxford; and almost all the ministers in England were within a few days of being suspended or deprived for not reading the declaration, which I have heard was publicly set up in a gold frame in one of the dissenters' meeting-houses. About the time of King James's declaration for indulgence, I know where there was a meeting of most of the dissenting ministers in and near London, to consult about it, and of their behaviour in so nice a juncture. The main debate was, whether address or not,

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with thanks for the declaration. Some were against it, but the most were for it. The main reasons given against it were, that it would be an injury to the Establishment, and was only designed to introduce popery. It was warmly answered, that the Church of England must now look to that herself, since she had formerly persecuted the dissenters. On the whole, it was carried by the majority, for addressing; and they did address accordingly, and disposed their people to do the same; the effects whereof were sufficiently notorious to our own nation, and to all Europe."—*Reply*, pp. 63, 64.

His son John has been heard to state, that at first his father was very much attached to the interests of James; "but when," said old Mr. Samuel Wesley, "I heard him say to the master and fellows of Magdalen College, lifting up his lean arm, 'If you refuse to obey me, you shall feel the weight of a king's right hand,' I saw he was a tyrant; and though I was not inclined to take an active part against him, I was resolved from that time to give him no kind of support." With this anecdote I was favoured by the reverend and venerable Thomas Stedman, late vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, to whose friendly and important communications these memoirs are in various places much indebted.

To the circumstances above related, his son refers in the verses addressed to his aged father, and published in vol. i. of the Armin. Mag., p. 141:—

> "No worldly views the real convert call;
> He sought God's altar when it seemed to fall;
> To Oxford hastened, even in dangerous days,
> When royal anger struck the fated place.
> When a *king's hand stretched out* amazed they saw,
> And troops were ordered to supply the law;
> Then luckless James possessed the British throne,
> And for the papal grandeur risked his own."

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Of this weak, superstitious, tyrannical monarch, we may say, as Louis XIV. did: "Poor fool, he lost three kingdoms for a mass!"

Mr. Wesley fully expected that James would, if possible, introduce arbitrary government into the state; and popery, its concomitant, into the church. He saw, therefore, the necessity of the revolution; was confirmed in its principles; and became strongly attached to King William, and was one of his chaplains. He left a remarkable memorial of his admiration of King William's character in one of his dissertations on the Book of Job; where, in remarking on the description of the war-horse (chap. xxxix.), he introduces the deceased monarch as he appeared at the battle of the Boyne, in Ireland, July 1, 1690; and, in both eloquent and affectionate language, points him out as the fittest hero to have managed the warlike animal just described. The compliment is the more honourable both to the bestower and the object, as dead monarchs can give no rewards, and as probably his memory was not remarkably grateful to those in power." This curious comparison, probably as being deemed useless or irrelevant, was omitted by his son Samuel in passing that sheet through the press. I thus conjecture, because I have not been able to find it in the work.

It is a curious fact, that Mr. Wesley, wishing to have a true representation of the war-horse described by Job, hearing that Lord Oxford had one of the finest Arabs then supposed to be in the world, wrote to his lordship for permission to have his likeness taken for the work. That this request was granted there is little room to doubt; and we may therefore safely conclude that the horse represented, Dissert., p. 338, engraved by Cole, was taken from what was called "Lord Oxford's Bloody Arab." The original letter containing the request lies

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before me; it is conceived with great delicacy of sentiment, and is elegantly expressed:—

"To my Lord of Oxford.

"My Lord,

"Your lordship's accumulated favours on my eldest son of Westminster are so far from discouraging me from asking one for myself of your lordship, that they rather excite me to do it, especially when your lordship has been always so great a patron of learning and all useful undertakings. I hope I may have some pretence to the latter, how little soever I may have to the former; and have taken some pains in my dissertations on Job to illustrate the description of the horse, though it is impossible to add any thing to it. For this reason, I would, if it were possible, procure a draft of the finest Arab horse in the world; and having had an account from several hands that your lordship's Bloody Arab answers the character, I have an ambition to get him drawn by the best artist we can find, and place him as the greatest ornament of my work. If your lordship has a picture of him I would beg that my engraver may take a draft from it; or if not, that my son may have the liberty to get one drawn from the life; either of which will make him, if possible, as well as myself, yet more

"Your lordship's most devoted
"humble servant,
"SAMUEL WESLEY, SEN."

Lord Oxford was the intimate friend of Samuel Wesley, jun., who was a frequent guest at his lordship's house, where he was treated with great distinction, as will appear in these Memoirs; and there is little doubt that the son became the negociator of the father's re-

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quest. The horse in the Dissertations is evidently designed for an Arabian horse, and no doubt was taken from that of Lord Oxford; but it is neither well drawn nor well engraved; and this is the more to be regretted as the model was so perfect in its kind.

That the rector of Epworth was under considerable obligations to the Earl of Oxford, appears from the dedication of his son Samuel's poems to that nobleman, where he remarks:—"'Tis with reluctance I wave the mention of many personal obligations received from your lordship; but I can by no means resist this opportunity of returning my acknowledgments on my father's account, who is past expressing his own gratitude on earth, being now happy in that world which alone is worthy of him. Neither obscurity of condition, nor distance of place, could prevent your lordship from distinguishing and encouraging a worthy clergyman in his indefatigable searches after truth, and his unfashionable studies in divinity; which perhaps might have been left unfinished without that encouragement. And it will be no small recommendation of the work itself, that its author was favoured and approved by an Earl of Oxford." I find his lordship's name among the subscribers for Job.

Though Mr. Wesley, sen. could not boast the munificence, he possessed the esteem, of some of the first characters in the nation:

> "Her gracious smiles not pious Anne denied;
> And beauteous Mary blest him when she died."

In the end of the year 1715, and the beginning of the year 1716, there were some strange disturbances in the parsonage-house at Epworth, of such a singular nature as entitles them to a distinct mention. The accounts given of these are so circumstantial and authentic as to

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entitle them to the most implicit credit. The eye and ear-witnesses were persons of strong understandings, and well-cultivated minds, untinctured by superstition, and in some instances rather sceptically inclined. Hearing of these things, Mr. Samuel Wesley, jun., then at Westminster school, wrote to his father, mother, and sisters, for the particulars; and proposed such questions to them upon the subject as led them to use the utmost care, scrupulosity, and watchfulness, to prevent them from being imposed on by trick or fraud. Of the proceedings in this strange disturbance, Mr. Wesley, sen. kept a diary or journal; and Mr. John Wesley had also a detailed account of the whole from the family. Nothing apparently preternatural can lie further beyond the verge of imposture than these accounts; and the circumstantial statements contained in them force conviction of their truth even on the minds of the incredulous. That they were preternatural, the whole state of the case and supporting evidence seem to demonstrate.

The documents to which I refer, and which are inserted in their proper place, fell some how or other into the hands of the late Dr. Joseph Priestley, who thought proper to publish them in a pamphlet by themselves. He stated that he had received them from the late Mr. Badcock, to whom they had been communicated by Mrs. Earle, grand-daughter of Mr. Samuel Wesley, Mr. John Wesley's eldest brother. Mr. Badcock, in a letter to Mr. J. Wesley, from South Molton, Devon, dated April 22, 1780, mentions these MSS., and his hope that he shall be able to procure and send them to Mr. W. Nothing farther concerning these papers was heard till Dr. Priestley laid them before the public. How he obtained these MSS., which Mr. Badcock had proposed, should he possess them, to deliver to Mr. John Wesley, is a

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question which cannot at present be answered, as all the parties are long since dead. This, however, does not affect the authenticity of these documents, which are admitted on all hands to be indisputably genuine.

Disturbances supposed to be Preternatural, at the Parsonage-house, in Epworth.

MR. SAMUEL WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

AN ACCOUNT OF NOISES AND DISTURBANCES IN MY HOUSE AT EPWORTH, LINCOLNSHIRE, IN DECEMBER AND JANUARY, 1716.

"From the first of December, my children and servants heard many strange noises, groans, knockings, &c., in every story, and most of the rooms of my house. But I hearing nothing of it myself, they would not tell me for some time, because, according to the vulgar opinion, if it boded any ill to me, I could not hear it. When it increased, and the family could not easily conceal it, they told me of it.

"My daughters, Susannah and Ann, were below stairs in the dining-room; and heard, first at the doors, then over their heads, and the night after a knocking under their feet, though nobody was in the chambers or below them. The like they and my servants heard in both the kitchens, at the door against the partition, and over them. The maid-servant heard groans as of a dying man. My daughter Emilia, coming down stairs to draw up the clock and lock the doors at ten at night, as usual, heard under the staircase a sound among some bottles there, as if they had been all dashed to pieces; but when she looked, all was safe.

"Something like the steps of a man was heard going up and down stairs, at all hours of the night, and vast rumblings below stairs, and in the garrets. My man,

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who lay in the garret, heard some one come slaring through the garret to his chamber, rattling by his side, as if against his shoes, though he had none there; at other times walking up and down stairs, when all the house were in bed, and gobbling like a turkey-cock. Noises were heard in the nursery, and all the other chambers; knocking first at the feet of the bed and behind it; and a sound like that of dancing in a matted chamber, next the nursery, when the door was locked, and nobody in it.

"My wife would have persuaded them it was rats within doors, and some unlucky people knocking without; till at last we heard several loud knocks in our own chamber, on my side of the bed; but till, I think, the 21st at night, I heard nothing of it. That night I was waked a little before one by nine distinct very loud knocks, which seemed to be in the next room to ours, with a sort of a pause at every third stroke. I thought it might be somebody without the house; and having got a stout mastiff, hoped he would soon rid me of it.

"The next night I heard six knocks, but not so loud as the former. I know not whether it was in the morning after Sunday the 23rd, when about seven my daughter Emily called her mother into the nursery, and told her she might now hear the noises there. She went in, and heard it at the bedstead, then under the bed, then at the head of it. She knocked, and it answered her. She looked under the bed, and thought something ran from thence, but could not well tell of what shape, but thought it most like a badger.

"The next night but one we were awaked about one by the noises, which were so violent, it was in vain to think of sleep while they continued. I rose, and my wife would rise with me. We went into every chamber, and down stairs; and generally as we went into one

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room we heard it in that behind us, though all the family had been in bed several hours. When we were going down stairs, and at the bottom of them, we heard, as Emily had done before, a clashing among the bottles, as if they had been broke all to pieces, and another sound distinct from it, as if a peck of money had been thrown down before us. The same, three of my daughters heard at another time.

"We went through the hall into the kitchen, when our mastiff came whining to us, as he did always after the first night of its coming; for then he barked violently at it, but was silent afterwards, and seemed more afraid than any of the children. We still heard it rattle and thunder in every room above or behind us, locked as well as open, except my study, where as yet it never came. After two, we went to bed, and were pretty quiet the rest of the night.

"Wednesday night, December 26, after or a little before ten, my daughter Emilia heard the signal of its beginning to play, with which she was perfectly acquainted; it was like the strong winding up of a jack. She called us; and I went into the nursery, where it used to be most violent. The rest of the children were asleep. It began with knocking in the kitchen underneath, then seemed to be at the bed's feet, then under the bed, at last at the head of it. I went down stairs, and knocked with my stick against the joists of the kitchen. It answered me as often and as loud as I knocked; but then I knocked as I usually do at my door, 1—2 3 4 5 6—7; but this puzzled it, and it did not answer, or not in the same method; though the children heard it do the same exactly twice or thrice after.

"I went up stairs, and found it still knocking hard,

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though with some respite, sometimes under the bed, sometimes at the bed's head. I observed my children that they were frighted in their sleep and trembled very much till it waked them. I stayed there alone, bid them go to sleep, and sat at the bed's feet by them, when the noise began again. I asked it what it was, and why it disturbed innocent children, and did not come to me in my study, if it had any thing to say to me. Soon after it gave one knock on the outside of the house (all the rest were within), and knocked off for that night.

"I went out of doors, sometimes alone, at others with company, and walked round the house, but could see or hear nothing. Several nights the latch of our lodging-chamber would be lifted up very often, when all were in bed. One night, when the noise was great in the kitchen, and on a deal partition, and the door in the yard, the latch whereof was often lifted up, my daughter Emilia went and held it fast on the inside: but it was still lifted up, and the door pushed violently against her, though nothing was to be seen on the outside.

"When we were at prayers, and came to the prayers for king George and the prince, it would make a great noise over our heads constantly, whence some of the family called it a Jacobite. I have been thrice pushed by an invisible power, once against the corner of my desk in the study, a second time against the door of the matted chamber, a third time against the right side of the frame of my study door, as I was going in.

"I followed the noise into almost every room in the house, both by day and by night, with lights and without, and have sat alone for some time, and when I heard the noise, spoke to it to tell me what it was, but never heard any articulate voice, and only once or twice two or three feeble squeaks, a little louder than the chirping of

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a bird; but not like the noise of rats, which I have often heard.

"I had designed on Friday, December 28, to make a visit to a friend, Mr. Downs, at Normandy, and stay some days with him; but the noises were so boisterous on Thursday night, that I did not care to leave my family. So I went to Mr. Hoole, of Haxey, and desired his company on Friday night. He came; and it began after ten, a little later than ordinary. The younger children were gone to bed, the rest of the family and Mr. Hoole were together in the matted chamber. I sent the servants down to fetch in some fuel, went with them, and staid in the kitchen till they came in. When they were gone, I heard loud noises against the doors and partition; and at length the usual signal, though somewhat after the time. I had never heard it before, but knew it by the description my daughter had given me. It was much like the turning about of a windmill when the wind changes. When the servants returned, I went up to the company, who had heard the other noises below, but not the signal. We heard all the knocking as usual, from one chamber to another, but at its going off, like the rubbing of a beast against the wall. From that time till January the 24th we were quiet.

"Having received a letter from Samuel the day before relating to it, I read what I had written of it to my family; and this day at morning prayer the family heard the usual knocks at the prayer for the king. At night they were more distinct, both in the prayer for the king, and that for the prince; and one very loud knock at the *amen* was heard by my wife, and most of my children, at the inside of my bed. I heard nothing myself. After nine, Robert Brown sitting alone by the fire in the back kitchen, something came out of the copper-hole like a

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rabbit, but less, and turned round five times very swiftly. Its ears lay flat upon its neck, and its little scut stood straight up. He ran after it with the tongs in his hands; but when he could find nothing, he was frighted, and went to the maid in the parlour.

"On Friday, the 25th, having prayers at church, I shortened, as usual, those in the family at morning, omitting the confession, absolution, and prayers for the king and prince. I observed, when this is done, there is no knocking. I therefore used them one morning for a trial; at the name of king George it began to knock, and did the same when I prayed for the prince. Two knocks I heard, but took no notice after prayers, till after all who were in the room, ten persons besides me, spoke of it, and said they heard it. No noise at all the rest of the prayers.

"Sunday, January 27. Two soft strokes at the morning prayers for king George, above stairs.

Addenda.

"Friday, December 21. Knocking I heard first, I think, this night; to which disturbances, I hope, God will in his good time put an end.

"Sunday, December 23. Not much disturbed with the noises, that are now grown customary to me.

"Wednesday, December 26. Sat up to hear noises. Strange! spoke to it, knocked off.

"Friday 28. The noises very boisterous and disturbing this night.

"Saturday 29. Not frighted with the continued disturbance of my family.

"Tuesday, January 1, 1717. My family have had no disturbance since I went.'

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Narrative drawn up by Mr. John Wesley, and published by him in the Arminian Magazine.

When I was very young, I heard several letters read, wrote to my elder brother by my father, giving an account of strange disturbances, which were in his house at Epworth, in Lincolnshire.

When I went down thither, in the year 1720, I carefully inquired into the particulars. I spoke to each of the persons who were then in the house, and took down what each could testify, of his or her own knowledge. The sum of which was this:

On Dec. 2, 1716, while Robert Brown, my father's servant, was sitting with one of the maids a little before ten at night, in the dining-room which opened into the garden, they both heard one knocking at the door. Robert rose and opened it, but could see nobody. Quickly it knocked again, and groaned. "It is Mr. Turpine," said Robert; "he has the stone, and uses to groan so." He opened the door again twice or thrice, the knocking being twice or thrice repeated; but still seeing nothing, and being a little startled, they rose and went up to bed. When Robert came to the top of the garret stairs, he saw a handmill, which was at a little distance, whirled about very swiftly. When he related this, he said, "Nought vexed me, but that it was empty. I thought, if it had but been full of malt, he might have ground his heart out for me." When he was in bed, he heard as it were the gobbling of a turkey-cock close to the bed-side; and soon after, the sound of one stumbling over his shoes and boots; but there were none there, he had left them below. The next day, he and the maid related these things to the other maid, who laughed heartily, and said, "What a couple of fools are you! I

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defy any thing to fright me." After churning in the evening, she put the butter in the tray, and had no sooner carried it into the dairy, than she heard a knocking on the shelf where several puncheons of milk stood, first above the shelf, then below. She took the candle, and searched both above and below; but being able to find nothing, threw down butter, tray, and all, and ran away for life. The next evening, between five and six o'clock, my sister Molly, then about twenty years of age, sitting in the dining-room reading, heard as if it were the door that led into the hall open, and a person walking in, that seemed to have on a silk night-gown, rustling and trailing along. It seemed to walk round her, then to the door, then round again; but she could see nothing. She thought, "It signifies nothing to run away; for, whatever it is, it can run faster than me." So she rose, put her book under her arm, and walked slowly away. After supper, she was sitting with my sister Sukey (about a year older than her), in one of the chambers, and telling her what had happened; she made quite light of it, telling her, "I wonder you are so easily frighted; I would fain see what would fright me." Presently a knocking began under the table. She took the candle and looked, but could find nothing. Then the iron casement began to clatter, and the lid of a warming-pan. Next the latch of the door moved up and down without ceasing. She started up, leaped into the bed without undressing, pulled the bed-clothes over her head, and never ventured to look up till next morning. A night or two after, my sister Hetty, a year younger than my sister Molly, was waiting as usual, between nine and ten, to take away my father's candle, when she heard one coming down the garret stairs, walking slowly by her, then going down the best stairs, then up the back stairs,

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and up the garret stairs; and at every step it seemed the house shook from top to bottom. Just then my father knocked. She went in, took his candle, and got to bed as fast as possible. In the morning she told this to my eldest sister, who told her, "You know I believe none of these things; pray let me take away the candle to-night, and I will find out the trick." She accordingly took my sister Hetty's place, and had no sooner taken away the candle than she heard a noise below. She hastened down stairs to the hall, where the noise was; but it was then in the kitchen. She ran into the kitchen, where it was drumming on the inside of the screen. When she went round, it was drumming on the outside; and so always on the side opposite to her. Then she heard a knocking at the back kitchen door. She ran to it, unlocked it softly, and when the knocking was repeated, suddenly opened it; but nothing was to be seen. As soon as she had shut it, the knocking began again. She opened it again, but could see nothing. When she went to shut the door, it was violently thrust against her; she let it fly open, but nothing appeared. She went again to shut it, and it was again thrust against her; but she set her knee and her shoulder to the door, forced it to, and turned the key. Then the knocking began again; but she let it go on, and went up to bed. However, from that time she was thoroughly convinced that there was no imposture in the affair.

The next morning, my sister telling my mother what had happened, she said, "If I hear any thing myself, I shall know how to judge." Soon after, she begged her to come into the nursery. She did, and heard in the corner of the room, as it were the violent rocking of a cradle; but no cradle had been there for some years. She was convinced it was preternatural, and

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earnestly prayed it might not disturb her in her own chamber at the hours of retirement; and it never did. She now thought it was proper to tell my father. But he was extremely angry, and said, "Sukey, I am ashamed of you: these boys and girls frighten one another; but you are a woman of sense, and should know better. Let me hear of it no more."

At six in the evening he had family prayers as usual. When he began the prayer for the king, a knocking began all round the room; and a thundering knock attended the Amen. The same was heard from this time every morning and evening, while the prayer for the king was repeated. As both my father and mother are now at rest, and incapable of being pained thereby, I think it my duty to furnish the serious reader with a key to this circumstance.

The year before King William died, my father observed my mother did not say Amen to the prayer for the King. She said she could not, for she did not believe the Prince of Orange was king. He vowed he never would cohabit with her till she did. He then took his horse, and rode away; nor did she hear any thing of him for a twelvemonth. He then came back, and lived with her as before. But I fear his vow was not forgotten before God.

Being informed that Mr. Hoole, the vicar of Haxey (an eminently pious and sensible man), could give me some farther information, I walked over to him. He said, "Robert Brown came over to me, and told me your father desired my company. When I came, he gave me an account of all that had happened; particularly the knocking during family prayer. But that evening (to my great satisfaction) we had no knocking at all. But between nine and ten a servant came in and said, 'Old

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Jeffrey is coming (that was the name of one that died in the house), for I hear the signal.' This, they inform me was heard every night about a quarter before ten. It was toward the top of the house on the outside, at the north-east corner, resembling the loud creaking of a saw; or rather that of a windmill, when the body of it is turned about, in order to shift the sails to the wind. We then heard a knocking over our heads; and Mr. Wesley, catching up a candle, said, 'Come, Sir, now you shall hear for yourself.' We went up stairs; he with much hope, and I (to say the truth) with much fear. When we came into the nursery, it was knocking in the next room; when we were there, it was knocking in the nursery. And there it continued to knock, though we came in particularly at the head of the bed (which was of wood) in which Miss Hetty and two of her younger sisters lay. Mr. Wesley, observing that they were much affected, though asleep, sweating, and trembling exceedingly, was very angry; and pulling out a pistol, was going to fire at the place from whence the sound came. But I catched him by the arm, and said, Sir, you are convinced this is something preternatural. If so, you cannot hurt it; but you give it power to hurt you.' He then went close to the place, and said sternly, 'Thou deaf and dumb devil, why dost thou fright these children, that cannot answer for themselves? Come to me in my study that am a man!' Instantly it knocked his knock (the particular knock which he always used at the gate) as if it would shiver the board in pieces, and we heard nothing more that night." Till this time, my father had never heard the least disturbances in his study. But the next evening, as he attempted to go into his study (of which none had any key but himself), when he opened the door, it was thrust back with such violence, as had

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like to have thrown him down. However, he thrust the door open, and went in. Presently there was knocking, first on one side, then on the other; and after a time, in the next room, wherein my sister Nancy was. He went into that room, and (the noise continuing) adjured it to speak; but in vain. He then said, "These spirits love darkness; put out the candle, and perhaps it will speak." She did so; and he repeated his adjuration; but still there was only knocking, and no articulate sound. Upon this he said, "Nancy, two Christians are an overmatch for the devil. Go all of you down stairs; it may be, when I am alone, he will have courage to speak." When she was gone, a thought came in, and he said, "If thou art the spirit of my son Samuel, I pray knock three knocks, and no more." Immediately all was silence; and there was no more knocking at all that night. I asked my sister Nancy (then about fifteen years old) whether she was not afraid, when my father used that adjuration? She answered, she was sadly afraid it would speak, when she put out the candle; but she was not at all afraid in the day-time, when it walked after her, as she swept the chambers, as it constantly did, and seemed to sweep after her; only she thought he might have done it for her, and saved her the trouble. By this time all my sisters were so accustomed to these noises, that they gave them little disturbance. A gentle tapping at their bed-head usually began between nine and ten at night. They then commonly said to each other, "Jeffrey is coming; it is time to go to sleep." And if they heard a noise in the day, and said to my youngest sister, "Hark, Kezzy, Jeffrey is knocking above," she would run up stairs, and pursue it from room to room, saying she desired no better diversion.

A few nights after, my father and mother were just

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gone to bed, and the candle was not taken away, when they heard three blows, and a second, and a third three, as it were with a large oaken staff, struck upon a chest which stood by the bed-side. My father immediately arose, put on his night-gown, and hearing great noises below, took the candle, and went down; my mother walked by his side. As they went down the broad stairs, they heard as if a vessel full of silver was poured upon my mother's breast, and ran jingling down to her feet. Quickly after there was a sound, as if a large iron ball was thrown among many bottles under the stairs; but nothing was hurt. Soon after, our large mastiff dog came and ran to shelter himself between them. While the disturbances continued, he used to bark and leap, and snap on one side and the other; and that frequently before any person in the room heard any noise at all. But after two or three days, he used to tremble, and creep away before the noise began. And by this the family knew it was at hand; nor did the observation ever fail. A little before my father and mother came into the hall, it seemed as if a very large coal was violently thrown upon the floor, and dashed all in pieces; but nothing was seen. My father then cried out, "Sukey, do you not hear? All the pewter is thrown about the kitchen." But when they looked, all the pewter stood in its place. There then was a loud knocking at the back-door. My father opened it, but saw nothing. It was then at the fore-door. He opened that, but it was still lost labour. After opening first the one, then the other, several times, he turned, and went up to bed. But the noises were so violent all over the house, that he could not sleep till four in the morning.

Several gentlemen and clergymen now earnestly advised my father to quit the house. But he constantly

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answered, "No; let the devil flee from me; I will never flee from the devil." But he wrote to my eldest brother at London to come down. He was preparing so to do, when another letter came, informing him the disturbances were over; after they had continued (the latter part of the time day and night) from the second of December to the end of January.

LETTERS CONCERNING SOME SUPERNATURAL DISTURBANCES AT THE PARSONAGE-HOUSE AT EPWORTH, IN LINCOLNSHIRE.

LETTER I.—*To Mr. Samuel Wesley, from his mother.*

"*January* 12, 1716-17.

"Dear Sam,

"This evening we were agreeably surprised with your packet, which brought the welcome news of your being alive, after we had been in the greatest panic imaginable, almost a month, thinking either you were dead, or one of your brothers had by some misfortune been killed.

"The reason of our fears is as follows: On the first of December our maid heard at the door of the dining-room, several dismal groans, like a person in extremes, at the point of death. We gave little heed to her relation and endeavoured to laugh her out of her fears. Some nights (two or three) after, several of the family heard a strange knocking in divers places, usually three or four knocks at a time, and then staid a little. This continued every night for a fortnight; sometimes it was in the garret, but most commonly in the nursery, or green chamber. We all heard it but your father, and I was not willing he should be informed of it, lest he should fancy it was against his own death, which indeed we all apprehended. But when it began to be so troublesome,

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both day and night, that few or none of the family durst be alone, I resolved to tell him of it, being minded he should speak to it. At first he would not believe but somebody did it to alarm us; but the night after, as soon as he was in bed, it knocked loudly nine times, just by his bedside. He rose, and went to see if he could find out what it was, but could see nothing. Afterwards he heard it as the rest.

"One night it made such a noise in the room over our heads as if several people were walking, then run up and down stairs, and was so outrageous that we thought the children would be frighted; so your father and I rose, and went down in the dark to light a candle. Just as we came to the bottom of the broad stairs, having hold of each other, on my side there seemed as if somebody had emptied a bag of money at my feet; and on his, as if all the bottles under the stairs (which were many) had been dashed in a thousand pieces. We passed through the hall into the kitchen, and got a candle, and went to see the children, whom we found asleep.

"The next night your father would get Mr. Hoole to lie at our house, and we all sat together till one or two o'clock in the morning, and heard the knocking as usual. Sometimes it would make a noise like the winding up of a jack; at other times, as that night Mr. Hoole was with us, like a carpenter planing deals; but most commonly it knocked thrice and stopped, and then thrice again, and so many hours together. We persuaded your father to speak, and try if any voice would be heard. One night, about six o'clock, he went into the nursery in the dark, and at first heard several deep groans, then knocking. He adjured it to speak, if it had power, and tell him why it troubled his house; but no voice was heard, but it knocked thrice aloud. Then he questioned it if

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it were Sammy; and bid it, if it were, and could not speak, knock again; but it knocked no more that night, which made us hope it was not against your death.

"Thus it continued till the 28th of December, when it loudly knocked (as your father used to do at the gate) in the nursery, and departed. We have various conjectures what this may mean. For my own part, I fear nothing, now you are safe at London hitherto; and I hope God will still preserve you. Though sometimes I am inclined to think my brother is dead. Let me know your thoughts on it.

"S. W."

LETTER II.—*From Mr. S. Wesley to his Father.*

"*January* 30, *Saturday.*"

"Honoured Sir,

"My mother tells me a very strange sort of disturbances in your house. I wish I could have some more particulars from you. I would thank Mr. Hoole if he would favour me with a letter concerning it. Not that I want to be confirmed myself in the belief of it, but for any other person's satisfaction. My mother sends to me to know my thoughts of it, and I cannot think at all of any interpretation. Wit, I fancy, might find many, but wisdom none.

"Your dutiful and loving son,

"S. WESLEY."

LETTER III.—*From Mr. S. Wesley to his Mother.*

"Dear Mother,

"Those who are so wise as not to believe any supernatural occurrences, though ever so well attested, could find a hundred questions to ask about those strange noises you wrote me an account of; but for my part, I

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know not what question to put, which, if answered, would confirm me more in the belief of what you tell me. Two or three I have heard from others. Was there never a new maid or man in the house that might play tricks? Was there nobody above in the garrets when the walking was there? Did all the family hear it together when they were in one room, or at one time? Did it seem to all to be in the same place, at the same time? Could not cats, or rats, or dogs be the sprites? Was the whole family asleep when my father and you went down stairs? Such doubts as these being replied to, though they could not, as God himself assures us, convince them who believe not Moses and the Prophets, yet would strengthen such as do believe. As to my particular opinion concerning the events foreboded by these noises, I cannot, I must confess, form any. I think, since it was not permitted to speak, all guesses must be vain. The end of spirits' actions is yet more hidden than that of men, and even this latter puzzles the most subtle politicians. That we may be struck so as to prepare seriously for any ill, may, it is possible, be one design of Providence. It is surely our duty and wisdom to do so.

"Dear mother,

"I beg your blessing

"on your dutiful and affectionate Son,

"S. WESLEY."

Jan. 19, 1716-7, *Saturday*,
Dean's Yard, Westminster.

"I expect a particular account from every one."

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LETTER IV.—*From Mrs. Wesley to her son Samuel.*

"*Jan.* 25 or 27, 1716-7.

"Dear Sam,

"Though I am not one of those that will believe nothing supernatural, but am rather inclined to think there would be frequent intercourse between good spirits and us, did not our deep lapse into sensuality prevent it; yet I was a great while ere I could credit anything of what the children and servants reported concerning the noises they heard in several parts of our house. Nay, after I had heard them myself, I was willing to persuade myself and them that it was only rats or weasels that disturbed us; and having been formerly troubled with rats, which were frighted away by sounding a horn, I caused a horn to be procured, and made them blow it all over the house. But from that night they began to blow, the noises were more loud and distinct, both day and night, than before; and that night we rose and went down I was entirely convinced that it was beyond the power of any human creature to make such strange and various noises.

"As to your questions, I will answer them particularly: but withal, I desire my answers may satisfy none but yourself; for I would not have the matter imparted to any. We had both man and maid new this last Martinmas, yet I do not believe either of them occasioned the disturbance, both for the reason above-mentioned, and because they were more affrighted than any body else. Besides, we have often heard the noises when they were in the room by us; and the maid particularly was in such a panic that she was almost incapable of all business, nor durst ever go from one room to another, or stay by herself a minute, after it began to be dark.

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"The man, Robert Brown, whom you well know, was most visited by it, lying in the garret, and has been often frighted down barefoot, and almost naked, not daring to stay alone to put on his clothes; nor do I think, if he had power, he would be guilty of such villany. When the walking was heard in the garret, Robert was in bed in the next room, in a sleep so sound, that he never heard your father and me walk up and down, though we walked not softly I am sure. All the family has heard it together, in the same room, at the same time, particularly at family prayers. It always seemed to all present in the same place at the same time; though often before any could say, It is here, it would remove to another place.

"All the family, as well as Robin, were asleep when your father and I went down stairs, nor did they wake in the nursery when we held the candle close by them; only we observed that Hetty trembled exceedingly in her sleep, as she always did, before the noise awaked her. It commonly was nearer her than the rest, which she took notice of; and was much frightened, because she thought it had a particular spite at her. I could multiply particular instances, but I forbear. I believe your father will write to you about it shortly. Whatever may be the design of Providence in permitting these things, I cannot say. Secret things belong to God. But I entirely agree with you, that it is our wisdom and duty to prepare seriously for all events.

"S. WESLEY."

LETTER V.—*From Miss Susannah Wesley to her brother Samuel.*

"*Epworth, Jan.* 24.

"Dear Brother,

"About the first of December, a most terrible and

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astonishing noise was heard by a maid-servant, as at the dining-room door, which caused the up-starting of her hair, and made her ears prick forth at an unusual rate. She said it was like the groans of one expiring. These so frighted her, that for a great while, she durst not go out of one room into another, after it began to be dark, without company. But, to lay aside jesting, which should not be done in serious matters, I assure you that from the first to the last of a lunar month, the groans, squeaks, tinglings, and knockings, were frightful enough.

"Though it is needless for me to send you any account of what we all heard, my father himself having a larger account of the matter than I am able to give, which he designs to send you; yet, in compliance with your desire, I will tell you, as briefly as I can, what I heard of it. The first night I ever heard it, my sister Nancy and I were sitting in the dining-room. We heard something rush on the outside of the doors that opened into the garden; then three loud knocks, immediately after other three, and in half a minute the same number over our heads. We inquired whether anybody had been in the garden, or in the room above us; but there was nobody. Soon after, my sister Molly and I were up after all the family were a-bed, except my sister Nancy, about some business. We heard three bouncing thumps under our feet, which soon made us throw away our work, and tumble into bed; afterwards, the tingling of the latch and warming pan; and so it took its leave that night.

"Soon after the above-mentioned, we heard a noise as if a great piece of sounding metal was thrown down on the outside of our chamber. We, lying in the quietest part of the house, heard less than the rest for a pretty while; but the latter end of the night that Mr. Hoole

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sat up on, I lay in the nursery, where it was very violent. I then heard frequent knocks over and under the room where I lay, and at the children's bed-head, which was made of boards. It seemed to rap against it very hard and loud, so that the bed shook under them. I heard something walk by my bed-side, like a man in a long night-gown. The knocks were so loud, that Mr. Hoole came out of his chamber to us. It still continued. My father spoke, but nothing answered. It ended that night with my father's particular knock, very fierce.

"It is now pretty quiet; only at our repeating the prayers for the king and prince, when it usually begins, especially when my father says, 'Our most gracious Sovereign Lord,' &c. This my father is angry at, and designs to say *three* instead of *two* for the royal family. We all heard the same noise, and at the same time, and as coming from the same place. To conclude this, it now makes its personal appearance: but of this more hereafter. Do not say one word of this to our folks, nor give the least hint.

"I am,

"Your sincere friend and affectionate sister,

"SUSANNAH WESLEY."

LETTER VI.—*Mr. S. Wesley in answer.*

"*Dean's Yard, Feb.* 9, 1716-17.

"Dear Sister Sukey,

"Your telling me the spirit has made its personal appearance, without saying how, or to whom, or when, or how long, has excited my curiosity very much. I long mightily for a farther account of every circumstance by your next letter. Do not keep me any longer in the dark. Why need you write the less, because my father is to send me the whole story? Has the disturb-

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ance continued since the 28th of December? I understand my father did not hear it all; but a fortnight after the rest. What did he say remarkable to any of you when he did hear it? As to the devil's being an enemy to King George, were I the king myself, I should rather old Nick should be my enemy, than my friend. I do not like the noise of the night-gown sweeping along the ground, nor its knocking like my father. Write when you receive this, though nobody else should, to your loving brother,

"S. W."

LETTER VII.—*Mr. S. Wesley to his Mother.*

"Dear Mother,

"You say you could multiply particular instances of the spirit's noises; but I want to know whether nothing was ever seen by any. For though it is hard to conceive, nay, morally impossible, that the hearing of so many people could be deceived, yet the truth will be still more manifest and undeniable, if it is grounded on the testimony of two senses. Has it never at all disturbed you since the 28th of December? Did no circumstance give any light into the design of the whole?

"Your obedient and loving son,

"*Feb.* 12. "S. WESLEY."

"Have you dug in the place where the money seemed poured at your feet?"

LETTER VIII.—*Mr. S. Wesley to his Father.*

"Honoured Sir,

"I have not yet received any answer to the letter I wrote some time ago; and my mother in her last seems to say, that as yet I know but a very small part of the

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whole story of strange noises in our house. I shall be exceedingly glad to have the entire account from you. Whatever may be the main design of such wonders, I cannot think they were ever meant to be kept secret. If they bode anything remarkable to our family, I am sure I am a party concerned.

"Your dutiful son,

"*Feb.* 12. "S. WESLEY."

LETTER IX.—*From Mr. S. Wesley to his sister Emily.*

"Dear Sister Emily,

"I wish you would let me have a letter from you about the spirit, as indeed from every one of my sisters. I cannot think any of you very superstitious, unless you are much changed since I saw you. My sister Hetty, I find, was more particularly troubled. Let me know all. Did anything appear to her?

"I am,

"Your affectionate brother,

"*Feb.* 12. "S. WESLEY."

LETTER X.—*From old Mr. Wesley to his son Samuel.*

Feb. 11, 1716-7.

"Dear Sam,

"As for the noises, &c. in our family, I thank God we are now all quiet. There were some surprising circumstances in that affair. Your mother has not written you a third part of it. When I see you here, you shall see the whole account, which I wrote down. It would make a glorious penny-book for Jack Dunton; but while I live I am not ambitious for any thing of that nature. I think that's all, but blessings from

"Your loving father,

"SAM. WESLEY."

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[The following letter was received at the same time, though it has no date.]

LETTER XI.—*From Miss Emily Wesley to her brother Samuel.*

"Dear Brother,

"I thank you for your last; and shall give you what satisfaction is in my power, concerning what has happened in our family. I am so far from being superstitious, that I was too much inclined to infidelity; so that I heartily rejoice at having such an opportunity of convincing myself, past doubt or scruple, of the existence of some beings besides those we see. A whole month was sufficient to convince any body of the reality of the thing, and to try all ways of discovering any trick, had it been possible for any such to have been used. I shall only tell you what I myself heard, and leave the rest to others.

"My sisters in the paper chamber had heard noises, and told me of them; but I did not much believe, till one night, about a week after the first groans were heard, which was the beginning, just after the clock had struck ten, I went down stairs to lock the doors, which I always do. Scarce had I got up the best stairs, when I heard a noise, like a person throwing down a vast coal in the middle of the fore kitchen, and all the splinters seemed to fly about from it. I was not much frighted, but went to my sister Sukey, and we together went all over the low rooms, but there was nothing out of order.

"Our dog was fast asleep, and our only cat in the other end of the house. No sooner was I got up stairs, and undressing for bed, but I heard a noise among many bottles that stand under the best stairs, just like the throwing of a great stone among them, which had broke

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them all to pieces. This made me hasten to bed. But my sister Hetty, who sits always to wait on my father going to bed, was still sitting on the lowest step on the garret stairs, the door being shut at her back; when, soon after, there came down the stairs behind her something like a man, in a loose night-gown trailing after him, which made her fly rather than run to me in the nursery.

"All this time we never told our father of it; but soon after we did. He smiled, and gave no answer; but was more careful than usual, from that time, to see us in bed, imagining it to be some of us young women that sat up late, and made a noise. His incredulity, and especially his imputing it to us, or our lovers, made me, I own, desirous of its continuance till he was convinced. As for my mother, she firmly believed it to be rats, and sent for a horn to blow them away. I laughed to think how wisely they were employed, who were striving half a day to fright away Jeffrey (for that name I gave it) with a horn.

"But whatever it was, I perceived it could be made angry. For from that time it was so outrageous, there was no quiet for us after ten at night. I heard frequently, between ten and eleven, something like the quick winding up of a jack, at the corner of the room by my bed's head, just like the running of the wheels and the creaking of the iron-work. This was the common signal of its coming. Then it would knock on the floor three times, then at my sister's bed's head in the same room, almost always three together, and then stay. The sound was hollow and loud, so as none of us could ever imitate.

"It would answer to my mother, if she stamped on the floor, and bid it. It would knock when I was

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putting the children to bed, just under me where I sat. One time, little Kezzy, pretending to scare Patty, as I was undressing them, stamped with her foot on the floor, and immediately it answered with three knocks, just in the same place. It was more loud and fierce, if any one said it was rats, or any thing natural.

"I could tell you abundance more of it; but the rest will write, and therefore it would be needless. I was not much frighted at first, and very little at last; but it was never near me, except two or three times; and never followed me, as it did my sister Hetty. I have been with her when it has knocked under her; and when she has removed, it has followed, and still kept just under her feet, which was enough to terrify a stouter person.

"If you would know my opinion of the reason of this, I shall briefly tell you. I believe it to be witchcraft, for these reasons. About a year since, there was a disturbance at a town near us, that was undoubtedly witches; and if so near, why may they not reach us? Then my father had for several Sundays before its coming preached warmly against consulting those that are called cunning men, which our people are given to; and it had a particular spite at my father.

"Besides, something was thrice seen. The first time by my mother, under my sister's bed, like a badger, only without any head that was discernible. The same creature was sat by the dining-room fire one evening; when our man went into the room, it ran by him, through the hall, under the stairs. He followed with a candle, and searched, but it was departed. The last time he saw it in the kitchen, like a white rabbit, which seems likely to be some witch; and I do so really believe it to be one, that I would venture to fire a pistol at it, if I saw it

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long enough. It has been heard by me and others since December. I have filled up all my room, and have only time to tell you,

"I am,
"Your loving sister,
"EMILIA WESLEY."

LETTER XII.—*Miss Susannah Wesley to her brother Samuel.*

"*March* 27.

"Dear Brother Wesley,

"I should farther satisfy you concerning the disturbances; but it is needless, because my sisters Emilia and Hetty write so particularly about it. One thing I believe you do not know, that is, last Sunday, to my father's no small amazement, his trencher danced upon the table a pretty while, without any body's stirring the table; when, lo! an adventurous wretch took it up, and spoiled the sport, for it remained still ever after. How glad should I be to talk with you about it. Send me some news, for we are secluded from the sight or hearing of any versal thing except Jeffrey.

"SUSANNAH WESLEY."

A passage in a letter from my Mother to me, dated March 27, 1717.

"I cannot imagine how you should be so curious about our unwelcome guest. For my part, I am quite tired with hearing or speaking of it: but if you come among us, you will find enough to satisfy all your scruples, and perhaps may hear or see it yourself.

"S. WESLEY."

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A passage in a letter from my sister Emily to Mr. N Berry, dated April 1.

"Tell my brother the sprite was with us last night, and heard by many of our family, especially by our maid and myself. She sat up with drink; and it came just at one o'clock, and opened the dining-room door. After some time it shut again. She saw as well as heard it both shut and open; then it began to knock as usual. But I dare write no longer, lest I should hear it.

"EMILIA WESLEY."

My mother's account to Jack.

"*Aug.* 27, 1726.

"About ten days after Nanny Marshall had heard unusual groans at the dining-room door, Emily came and told me that the servants and children had been several times frighted with strange groans and knockings about the house. I answered, that the rats John Maw had frightened from his house, by blowing a horn there, were come into ours, and ordered that one should be sent for. Molly was much displeased at it, and said, if it was any thing supernatural, it certainly would be very angry, and more troublesome. However, the horn was blown in the garrets; and the effect was, that whereas before the noises were always in the night, from this time they were heard at all hours, day and night.

"Soon after, about seven in the morning, Emily came and desired me to go into the nursery, where I should be convinced they were not startled at nothing. On my coming thither, I heard a knocking at the feet, and quickly after at the head, of the bed. I desired, if it was a spirit, it would answer me; and knocking several times with my foot on the ground, with several pauses, it repeated under the sole of my feet exactly the same

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number of strokes, with the very same intervals. Kezzy, then six or seven years old, said, Let it answer me too, if it can, and stamping, the same sounds were returned that she made, many times, successively.

"Upon my looking under the bed, something ran out pretty much like a badger, and seemed to run directly under Emily's petticoats, who sat opposite to me on the other side. I went out; and one or two nights after, when we were just got to bed, I heard nine strokes, three by three, on the other side the bed, as if one had struck violently on a chest with a large stick. Mr. Wesley leapt up, called Hetty, who alone was up in the house, and searched every room in the house, but to no purpose. It continued from this time to knock and groan frequently at all hours, day and night; only I earnestly desired it might not disturb me between five and six in the evening, and there never was any noise in my room after during that time.

"At other times, I have often heard it over my mantle tree; and once, coming up after dinner, a cradle seemed to be strongly rocked in my chamber. When I went in, the sound seemed to be in the nursery. When I was in the nursery, it seemed in my chamber again. One night Mr. W. and I were waked by some one running down the garret stairs, then down the broad stairs, then up the narrow ones, then up the garret stairs, then down again, and so the same round. The rooms trembled as it passed along, and the doors shook exceedingly, so that the clattering of the latches was very loud.

"Mr. W. proposing to rise, I rose with him, and went down the broad stairs, hand in hand, to light a candle. Near the foot of them, a large pot of money seemed to be poured out at my waist, and to run jingling down my nightgown to my feet. Presently after we heard the

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noise as of a vast stone thrown among several dozen of bottles which lay under the stairs; but upon our looking, no hurt was done. In the hall the mastiff met us, crying and striving to get between us. We returned up into the nursery, where the noise was very great. The children were all asleep, but panting, trembling, and sweating extremely.

"Shortly after, on Mr. Wesley's invitation, Mr. Hoole staid a night with us. As we were all sitting round the fire in the matted chamber, he asked whether that gentle knocking was it? I told him yes; and it continued the sound, which was much lower than usual. This was observable, that while we were talking loud in the same room, the noise, seemingly lower than any of our voices, was distinctly heard above them all. These were the most remarkable passages I remember, except such as were common to all the family.

My sister Emily's account to Jack.

"About a fortnight after the time when, as I was told, the noises were heard, I went from my mother's room, who was just gone to bed, to the best chamber, to fetch my sister Sukey's candle. When I was there, the windows and doors began to jar, and ring exceedingly; and presently after I heard a sound in the kitchen, as if a vast stone coal had been thrown down, and smashed to pieces. I went down thither with my candle, and found nothing more than usual; but as I was going by the screen, something began knocking on the other side, just even with my head. When I looked on the inside, the knocking was on the outside of it; but as soon as I could get round, it was at the inside again. I followed it to and fro several times; till at last, finding it to no purpose, and turning about to go away, before I was out

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of the room, the latch of the back-kitchen door was lifted up many times. I opened the door and looked out, but could see nobody. I tried to shut the door, but it was thrust against me, and I could feel the latch, which I held in my hand, moving upwards at the same time. I looked out again; but finding it was labour lost, clapped the door too, and locked it. Immediately the latch was moved strongly up and down; but I left it, and went up the worst stairs, from whence I heard, as if a great stone had been thrown among the bottles which lay under the best stairs. However, I went to bed.

"From this time I heard it every night for two or three weeks. It continued a month in its full majesty, night and day. Then it intermitted a fortnight or more, and when it began again, it knocked only on nights, and grew less and less troublesome, till at last it went quite away. Towards the latter end, it used to knock on the outside of the house, and seemed farther and farther off, till it ceased to be heard at all."

My sister Molly's account to Jack.

"*Aug.* 27.

"I have always thought it was in November, the rest of our family think it was the 1st of December, 1716, when Nanny Marshall, who had a bowl of butter in her hand, ran to me, and two or three more of my sisters, in the dining-room, and told us she had heard several groans in the hall, as of a dying man. We thought it was Mr. Turpine, who had the stone, and used sometimes to come and see us. About a fortnight after, when my sister Sukey and I were going to bed, she told me how she was frightened in the dining-room, the day before, by a noise, first at the folding door, and then

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over head. I was reading at the table, and had scarce told her I believed nothing of it, when several knocks were given just under my feet. We both made haste into bed; and just as we lay down, the warming-pan by the bedside jarred and rang, as did the latch of the door, which was lifted swiftly up and down. Presently a great chain seemed to fall on the outside of the door (we were in the best chamber), the door, latch, hinges, the warming-pan, and windows jarred, and the house shook from top to bottom.

"A few days after, between five and six in the evening, I was by myself in the dining-room. The door seemed to open, though it was still shut; and somebody walked in, in a night-gown trailing upon the ground (nothing appearing), and seemed to go leisurely round me. I started up, and ran up stairs to my mother's chamber, and told the story to her and my sister Emily. A few nights after, my father ordered me to light him to his study. Just as he had unlocked it, the latch was lifted up for him. The same (after we blew the horn) was often done to me, as well by day as by night. Of many other things all the family as well as me were witnesses.

"My father went into the nursery from the matted chamber, where we were, by himself, in the dark. It knocked very loud on the press bed-head. He adjured it to tell him why it came, but it seemed to take no notice; at which he was very angry, spoke sharply, called it deaf and dumb devil, and repeated his adjuration. My sisters were terribly afraid it would speak. When he had done, it knocked his knock on the bed's head, so exceeding violently, as if it would break it to shivers; and from that time we heard nothing till near a month after.

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My sister Sukey's account to Jack.

"I believed nothing of it till about a fortnight after the first noises; then one night I sat up on purpose to hear it. While I was working in the best chamber, and earnestly desiring to hear it, a knocking began just under my feet. As I knew the room below was locked, I was frightened, and leaped into bed with all my clothes on. I afterwards heard as it were a great chain fall, and after some time the usual noises at all hours of the day and night. One night, hearing it was most violent in the nursery, I resolved to lie there. Late at night, several strong knocks were given on the two lowest steps of the garret stairs, which were close to the nursery door. The latch of the door then jarred, and seemed to be swiftly moved to and fro, and presently began knocking about a yard within the room on the floor. It then came gradually to sister Hetty's bed, who trembled strongly in her sleep. It beat very loud, three strokes at a time, on the bed's head. My father came, and adjured it to speak; but it knocked on for some time, and then removed to the room over, where it knocked my father's knock on the ground, as if it would beat the house down. I had no mind to stay longer, but got up, and went to sister Em and my mother, who were in her room. From thence we heard the noises again from the nursery. I proposed playing a game at cards; but we had scarce begun, when a knocking began under our feet. We left off playing, and it removed back again into the nursery, where it continued till towards morning.

Sister Nancy's account to Jack.

"*Sept.* 10.

"The first noise my sister Nancy heard was in the

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best chamber, with my sister Molly and my sister Sukey, soon after my father had ordered her to blow a horn in the garrets, where it was knocking violently. She was terribly afraid, being obliged to go in the dark; and kneeling down on the stairs, desired that, as she acted not to please herself, it might have no power over her. As soon as she came into the room, the noise ceased, nor did it begin again till near ten: but then, and for a good while, it made much greater and more frequent noises than it had done before. When she afterwards came into the chamber in the day-time, it commonly walked after her from room to room. It followed her from one side of the bed to the other, and back again, as often as she went back; and whatever she did which made any sort of noise, the same thing seemed just to be done behind her.

"When five or six were set in the nursery together, a cradle would seem to be strongly rocked in the room over, though no cradle had ever been there. One night she was sitting on the press bed, playing at cards with some of my sisters, when my sisters Molly, Hetty, Patty, and Kezzy were in the room, and Robert Brown. The bed on which my sister Nancy sat was lifted up with her on it. She leaped down, and said, 'Surely old Jeffery would not run away with her.' However, they persuaded her to sit down again; which she had scarce done, when it was again lifted up several times successively a considerable height; upon which she left her seat, and would not be prevailed upon to sit there any more.

"Whenever they began to mention Mr. S., it presently began to knock, and continued to do so till they changed the discourse. All the time my sister Sukey was writing her last letter to him, it made a very great noise all round the room; and the night after she set

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out for London, it knocked till morning with scarce any intermission.

"Mr. Hoole read prayers once; but it knocked as usual at the prayers for the king and prince. The knockings at those prayers were only towards the beginning of the disturbances, for a week or thereabouts."

The Rev. Mr. Hoole's account.

"*Sept.* 16.

"As soon as I came to Epworth, Mr. Wesley telling me he sent for me to conjure, I knew not what he meant, till some of your sisters told me what had happened, and that I was sent for to sit up. I expected every hour, it being then about noon, to hear something extraordinary, but to no purpose. At supper too, and at prayers, all was silent, contrary to custom; but soon after, one of the maids, who went up to sheet a bed, brought the alarm, that Jeffery was come above stairs. We all went up, and as we were standing round the fire in the east chamber, something began knocking just on the other side of the wall, on the chimney-piece, as with a key. Presently the knocking was under our feet. Mr. Wesley and I went down, he with a great deal of hope, and I with fear. As soon as we were in the kitchen, the sound was above us, in the room we had left. We returned up the narrow stairs, and heard at the broad stairs' head some one slaring with their feet (all the family being now in bed beside us), and then trailing, as it were, and rustling with a silk night-gown. Quickly it was in the nursery, at the bed's head, knocking as it had done at first, three by three. Mr. Wesley spoke to it, and said he believed it was the devil; and soon after, it knocked at the window, and changed its sound into one like the planing of boards. From thence

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it went on the outward south side of the house, sounding fainter and fainter, till it was heard no more.

"I was at no other time than this during the noises at Epworth, and do not now remember any more circumstances than these."

Epworth, Sept. 1.

"My sister Kezzy says she remembers nothing else, but that it knocked my father's knock, ready to beat the house down, in the nursery one night."

Robin Brown's account to Jack.

"The first time Robin Brown, my father's man, heard it, was when he was fetching down some corn from the garrets. Somewhat knocked on a door just by him, which made him run away down stairs. From that time it used frequently to visit him in bed, walking up the garret stairs, and in the garrets, like a man in jack-boots, with a night-gown trailing after him, then lifting up his latch and making it jar, and presently making a noise in his room like the gobbling of a turkey-cock, then stumbling over his shoes or boots by the bed-side. He was resolved once to be too hard for it, and so took a large mastiff we had just got to bed with him, and left his shoes and boots below stairs; but he might as well have spared his labour, for it was exactly the same thing, whether any were there or no: the same sound was heard as if there had been forty pairs. The dog, indeed, was a great comfort to him; for as soon as the latch began to jar, he crept into bed, made such an howling and barking together, in spite of all the man could do, that he alarmed most of the family.

"Soon after, being grinding corn in the garrets, and happening to stop a little, the handle of the mill was

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turned round with great swiftness. He said nothing vexed him, but that the mill was empty; if corn had been in it, old Jeffery might have ground his heart out for him; he would never have disturbed him.

"One night, being ill, he was leaning his head upon the back kitchen chimney (the jam he called it), with the tongs in his hands, when from behind the oven-stop, which lay by the fire, somewhat came out like a white rabbit. It turned round before him several times, and then ran to the same place again. He was frighted, started up, and ran with the tongs into the parlour (dining-room)."

"D. R., *Epworth, Aug.* 31.

"Betty Massy one day came to me in the parlour, and asked me if I had heard old Jeffrey, for she said she thought there was no such thing. When we had talked a little about it, I knocked three times with a reel I had in my hand against the dining-room ceiling, and the same were presently repeated. She desired me to knock so again, which I did; but they were answered with three more so violently as shook the house, though no one was in the chamber over us. She prayed me to knock no more, for fear it should come in to us.

"*Epworth, Aug.* 31, 1726.

"John and Kitty Maw, who lived over against us, listened several nights in the time of the disturbance, but could never hear any thing."

Memorandum of Jack's.

"The first time my mother ever heard any unusual noise at Epworth, was long before the disturbance of old Jeffrey. My brother, lately come from London, had one

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evening a sharp quarrel with my sister Sukey, at which time, my mother happening to be above in her own chamber, the doors and windows rang and jarred very loud, and presently several distinct strokes, three by three, were struck. From that night it never failed to give notice in much the same manner against any signal misfortune, or illness of any belonging to the family."

Of the general circumstances which follow, most, if not all the family, were frequent witnesses.

1. Presently after any noise was heard, the wind commonly rose, and whistled very loud round the house, and increased with it.

2. The signal was given, which my father likens to the turning round of a windmill when the wind changes; Mr. Hoole (rector of Haxey), to the planing of deal boards; my sister, to the swift winding up of a jack. It commonly began at the corner of the top of the nursery.

3. Before it came into any room, the latches were frequently lifted up, the windows clattered, and whatever iron or brass was about the chamber rung and jarred exceedingly.

4. When it was in any room, let them make what noise they would, as they sometimes did on purpose, its dead hollow note would be clearly heard above them all.

5. It constantly knocked while the prayers for the king and prince were repeating; and was plainly heard by all in the room but my father, and sometimes by him, as were also the thundering knocks at the amen.

6. The sound very often seemed in the air in the middle of a room, nor could they ever make any such themselves by any contrivance.

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7. Though it seemed to rattle down the pewter, to clap the doors, draw the curtains, kick the man's shoes up and down, &c., yet it never moved any thing except the latches, otherwise than making it tremble; unless once, when it threw open the nursery door.

8. The mastiff, though he barked violently at it the first day he came, yet whenever it came after that, nay sometimes before the family perceived it, he ran whining, or quite silent, to shelter himself behind some of the company.

9. It never came by day, till my mother ordered the horn to be blown.

10. After that time, scarce any one could go from one room into another, but the latch of the room they went to was lifted up before they touched it.

11. It never came once into my father's study, till he talked to it sharply, called it deaf and dumb devil, and bid it cease to disturb the innocent children, and come to him in his study, if it had any thing to say to him.

12. From the time of my mother's desiring it not to disturb her from five to six, it was never heard in her chamber from five till she came down stairs, nor at any other time when she was employed in devotion.

13. Whether our clock went right or wrong, it always came, as near as could be guessed, when by the night it wanted a quarter to ten.

The accounts in general agree as to the time of the commencement and cessation of these disturbances. They were first noticed December 1 or 2, 1716, and ceased at the end of January, 1717. But there is a fact of which all Mr. Wesley's biographers are ignorant, viz., that Jeffrey, as the spirit was called, continued to molest

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some branches of the family for many years after. We have seen that Miss Emily Wesley was the first who gave it the name Jeffrey, from an old man of that name who had died there; and that she was more disturbed by it than any other of the family. I have an original letter of hers to her brother John, dated February 16, 1750, thirty-four years after the time, as is generally supposed, that Jeffrey had discontinued his operations, in which he is named. Emily was now Mrs. Harper, having married a person of that name, an apothecary, who at first lived in Epworth, and afterwards in London, or near it; and the letter is addressed to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, Foundry.

As some account of this lady shall be given in its proper place, I shall insert here only that part of her letter which refers to the above subject.

"*Feb.* 16, 1750.

"Dear brother,

"——— I want most sadly to see you, and talk some hours with you, as in times past. Some things are too hard for me; these I want you to solve. One doctrine of yours, and of many more, viz.: no happiness can be found in any or all things in this world; that, as I have sixteen years of my own experience which lie flatly against it, I want to talk with you about it. Another thing is, that wonderful thing, called by us Jeffrey. You won't laugh at me for being superstitious, if I tell you how certainly that *something* calls on me against any extraordinary new affliction; but so little is known of the invisible world, that I, at least, am not able to judge whether it be a friendly or an evil spirit. I shall be glad to know from you where you live—where you

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may be found. If at the Foundry, assuredly, on foot or by coach, I shall visit my dear brother, and enjoy the very great blessing of some hours' converse.

"I am,

"Your really obliged friend and affectionate sister,

"EMILIA HARPER."

I find by a note on the back that Mr. Wesley answered this letter on the 18th, two days after; but what he said on the subject is not recorded. This is the latest information I have concerning Jeffrey and his operations. It seems he came to Emily to give intimations of approaching afflictions or evils, just as Socrates informs us his demon was accustomed to apprise him of any evils that were about to happen.

But who was this demon? and what was the cause of his troubling this family?

We find that for a considerable time all the family believed it to be a trick; but at last they were all satisfied it was something supernatural. Some supposed it was a demon; others, that the whole was the effect of witchcraft. Mr. John Wesley believed that it was a messenger of Satan, sent to buffet his father for his rash promise of leaving his family, and very improper conduct to his wife in consequence of her scruple to pray for the prince of Orange as King of England; to which title she fully believed he had no legal nor constitutional right. On which we find that he left her for a year, to the neglect both of his family and his church. That God should have resented this rash conduct is not to be wondered at; but whether Jeffrey was the instrument of chastisement will be a question with many. With others, the house was considered as haunted. For this I have heard a reason assigned, which I shall introduce, be-

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cause it has been stated to me by respectable authority as a fact.

"The family having retired one evening rather earlier than usual, one of the maids, who was finishing her work in the back kitchen, heard a noise, and presently saw a man working himself through a trough which communicated between the sink-stone within, and the cistern on the outside of the house. Astonished and terrified beyond measure, she, in a sort of desperation, seized the cleaver, which lay on the sink-stone, and gave him a violent, and probably a mortal, blow on the head; she then uttered a dismal shriek, and fell senseless on the floor. Mr. Wesley, being alarmed by the noise, supposing that the house was beset by robbers, rose up, caught up the fire-irons of his study, and began to throw them with violence on the stairs, calling out, Tom! Jack! Harry, &c., as loud as he could bawl; designing thus to intimidate the robbers. Who the man was that received the blow, or who were his accomplices, was never discovered. His companions had carried him off; footsteps and marks of blood were traced to some distance, but not far enough to find who the villains were, nor from whence they came."

I give this story just as I received it, which, though respectably related, I have not been able to trace to any authentic source.

Dr. Priestley thinks the whole trick and imposture. It must be so on his system of materialism: but this does not solve the difficulty, it only cuts the knot.

Mrs. Wesley's opinion was different from all the rest, and was probably the most correct; she supposed that "these noises and disturbances portended the death of her brother, then abroad in the East India Company's service." This gentleman, who had acquired a large pro-

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perty, suddenly disappeared, and was never heard of more, at least as far as I can find, from the remaining branches of the family, or from any of the family documents. All that can be learned of him will be found in connexion with his father, Dr. Annesley, in the succeeding pages.

The story of the disturbances at the parsonage-house in Epworth is not unique; I myself, and others of my particular acquaintances, were eye and ear-witnesses of transactions of a similar kind, which could never be traced to any source of trick or imposture, and appeared to be the forerunners of two very tragical events in the disturbed family; after which no noise or disturbance ever took place. In the history of my own life I have related this matter in sufficient detail.*

Dr. Priestley, who first published the preceding papers,† says of the whole story, that "it is perhaps the best authenticated and the best told story of the kind that is any where extant; on which account, and to exercise the ingenuity of some speculative persons, he thought it not undeserving of being published."—*Preface*, p. xi. After this concession, he then enters into a train of arguing, to show that there could be nothing supernatural

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* The "tragical events," together with their "forerunners," alluded to by Dr. Clarke, may be seen in "An Account of his Infancy, Religious and Literary Life," vol. i., pp. 71—77.—EDITOR.

† The work to which the biographer here refers, is entitled, "Original Letters by the Rev. John Wesley, and his Friends, illustrative of his Early History, with other Curious Papers, communicated by the late Rev. S. Badcock. To which is prefixed, An Address to the Methodists. By Joseph Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S., &c. Birmingham, printed by Thomas Pearson, and sold by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-Yard. London, 1791, 8vo., pp. 170."—EDITOR.

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in it; for Dr. P., as a materialist, could give no credit to any account of angels, spirits, &c., the existence of which he did not credit; and because he could see no good end to be answered by it, therefore he thinks he may safely conclude no miracle was wrought. Such argumentation can justify no man in disbelieving a story of this kind, told so circumstantially, and witnessed by such a number of persons, whose veracity was beyond doubt, and whose capability to judge between fact and fiction, trick and genuine operation, was beyond that of most persons, who, in any country or age, have come forward to give testimony on a subject of this nature. He at last gets rid of the whole matter thus: "What appears most probable, at this distance of time, in the present case, is, that it was a trick of the servants, assisted by some of their neighbours; and that nothing was meant by it, besides puzzling the family, and amusing themselves; and that such a secret should be kept, so that the matter was never discovered, is not at all to be wondered at." We can scarcely suppose that this mode of reasoning satisfied the mind of Dr. Priestley, else he must have been satisfied much more easily on a subject which struck at the vitals of his own system, than he would have been on any doctrine relative to philosophy and chemistry. He had Mrs. Wesley's letter before him, which stated that the servants could not be employed in the work for reasons which she there adduces; and especially, because those very servants were often in the room with themselves, when the disturbances were most rife. But all suppositions of this kind are completely nullified by the preceding letter of Mrs. Harper (formerly Emilia Wesley), which states that even to thirty-four years afterwards, Jeffrey continued to molest her. Did her father's servants and the Epworth neigh-

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bours pursue her for thirty-four years through her various settlements, from 1716 to 1750, and were even at that time playing their pranks against her in London? How ridiculous and absurd! and this is the very best solution of these facts that Dr. Priestley could arrive at in deference to his system of materialism! The letter of Mrs. Harper I consider of vast importance, as it removes the last subterfuge of determinate incredulity and false philosophy on this subject.

A philosopher should not be satisfied with the reasons advanced by Dr. Priestley. He who will maintain his creed in opposition to his senses, and the most undisguised testimony of the most respectable witnesses, had better at once, for his own credit's sake, throw the whole story in the region of doubt, where all such relations, no matter how authenticated,

> "Upwhirl'd aloft,
> Fly o'er the back side of the world far off,
> Into a limbus large and broad!"

And instead of its being called the paradise of fools, it may be styled the limbus of philosophic materialists, into which they hurry whatever they cannot comprehend, choose not to believe, or please to call superstitious and absurd. And they treat such matters so because they quadrate not with principles unfounded on the divine testimony, feebly supported by true philosophy, and contradictory to the plain, unbiassed, good common sense of nineteen-twentieths of mankind.

But my business is to relate facts, of which the reader must make what use he chooses.

It is now time to return more particularly to Mr. Wesley's personal history.

When Mr. Pope solicited the interest of Dean Swift

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to procure subscribers for Mr. Wesley's Dissertations on the Book of Job, he called him a learned man; and from many evidences before me, I am led unhesitatingly to confirm this character.

The rector of Epworth was a learned man, though he thought and spoke meanly of his own literary attainments. Independently of that classical learning which was common to the clergy of those times, he cultivated other branches with which the great majority of them were unacquainted. One branch in particular, biblical criticism, which Dr. Owen had urged upon him, and which was then but little studied either in England or any other part of Europe; and which, within a few years only, is become a certain science, formed on just principles, and subjected to consistent and unerring rules. The Holy Scriptures he had read with deep attention, in the Originals and principal Versions. These he had carefully compared by a judicious collation; and from this labour he drew conclusions at once instructive to others, and creditable to his own understanding.

In his time that great and important work, the London Polyglott, was published, containing the original texts of the Old and New Testaments, Hebrew and Greek, with all the ancient Versions that were then known. The Samaritan on the Pentateuch; the Syriac, Arabic, Chaldee, Æthiopic, including the Psalms and the New Testament; the Persian on the Four Gospels; the Septuagint, and the Vulgate. All these, the Vulgate excepted, which is in Latin, are accompanied with a Latin Version, correct enough for general use. The Text and Versions occupy five folio volumes. The sixth is a collection of various readings on the above Texts and Versions. To these Dr. Edmund Castel added a Lexicon, in two volumes folio, of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac,

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Arabic, Æthiopic, Samaritan, and Persian; generally called, Castel's Heptaglott Lexicon.

Of this work Mr. Wesley had a copy, which was unhappily destroyed in the burning of his house in 1709. How diligently he consulted this work, and how much he profited by it, his collation of all the above original Texts and Versions throughout the Book of Job testifies; of which I shall speak more particularly when I come to that article. He was so satisfied of the great utility of this work to ministers, that we find he had projected an edition of the Holy Scriptures, including the original Texts and principal versions on a more contracted plan, and in a more portable form; of which we have some account in a letter written to his son John at Oxford, when he had thoughts of entering into the work of the ministry.

As this letter contains some judicious observations, and much wholesome advice, I will give it entire, as only some parts of it have been published; first by Mr. Wesley in the Arminian Magazine, and secondly by Dr. Whitehead, in his life of Mr. Wesley. We shall see by it, as by several other evidences, that Mr. S. Wesley was a strict father, not to say rigid, inclining to severity. But if the rein he held was tight, his hand was steady, and the whip not in use.

"*Wroot, Jan.* 26, 1724-5.

"Dear son,

"I am so well pleased with your present behaviour, or at least with your letters, that I hope I shall have no occasion to remember any more some things that are passed. And since you have now for some time bit upon the bridle, I'll take care hereafter to put a little honey upon it as oft as I am able. But then it shall be

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of my own *mero motu*, as the last 5^te^ was; for I will bear no rivals in my kindness.

"I did not forget you with Dr. Morley,* but have moved that way as much as possible; though I must confess, hitherto, with no great prospect or hopes of success.

"As for what you mention of entering into holy orders, it is indeed a great work; and I am pleased to find you think it so, as well as that you do not admire a callow clergyman any more than I do.

"As for your motives you take notice of, my thoughts are: 1. It is no harm to desire getting into that office, even as Eli's sons, 'to eat a piece of bread;' for 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.' Though, 2. A desire and intention to lead a stricter life, and a belief one should do so, is a better reason; though this should by all means be begun before, or else, ten to one, it will deceive us afterwards. 3. If a man be unwilling and undesirous to enter into orders, it is easy to guess whether he can say, so much as with common honesty, 'that he believes he is moved by the Holy Spirit to do it.' But, 4. The principal spring and motive, to which all the former should be only secondary, must certainly be the glory of God, and the service of his church, in the edification and salvation of our neighbour: and woe to him who with any meaner leading view, attempts so sacred a work. For which, 5. He should take all the care he possibly can, with the advice of wiser and elder men,—especially imploring with all humility, sincerity, and in-

* Dr. Morley was rector of Lincoln College; and as Mr. John Wesley purposed to stand for a fellowship, he requested his father to use his interest with the doctor in reference to that event. The next year he stood, and succeeded.

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tention of mind, and with fasting and prayer, the direction and assistance of Almighty God and his Holy Spirit,—to qualify and prepare himself for it.

"The knowledge of the languages is a very considerable help in this matter, which, I thank God, all my three sons have to a very laudable degree, though God knows I had never more than a smattering of any of them. But then this must be prosecuted to the thorough understanding the original text of the Scriptures, by constant and long conversing with them.

"You ask me which is the best commentary on the Bible? I answer, the Bible; for the several paraphrases and translations of it in the Polyglott, compared with the original and with one another, are, in my opinion, to an honest, devout, industrious, and humble mind, infinitely preferable to any commentary I ever saw wrote upon it, though Grotius is the best (for the most part), especially on the Old Testament.

"And now, the providence of God (I hope it was) has engaged me in such a work, wherein you may be very assistant to me, I trust promote his glory, and at the same time notably forward your own studies in the method I have just now proposed; for I have some time since designed an edition of the Holy Bible, in octavo, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Seventy, and Vulgar Latin, and hope made some progress in it: the whole scheme whereof I have not time at present to give you, of which scarce any soul yet knows except your brother Sam.

"What I desire of you on this article is, 1. That you would immediately fall to work; read diligently the Hebrew text in the Polyglott, and collate it exactly with the Vulgar Latin, which is in the second column, writing down all (even the least) variations or differences be-

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tween them. To these I would have you add the Samaritan text, in the last column but one (do not mind the Latin translation in the very last column), which is the very same with the Hebrew, except in some very few places, only differing in the Samaritan character (I think the true Old Hebrew), the alphabet whereof you may learn in a day's time, either from the Prolegomena in Walton's Polyglott, or from his grammar. In a twelvemonth's time, sticking close to it, in the forenoons, you will get twice through the Pentateuch; for I have done it four times the last year, and am going over it the fifth; collating the Hebrew and two Greek, the Alexandrian and the Vatican, with what I can get of Symmachus and Theodotion, &c. Nor shall you lose your reward for it, either in this or the other world. Nor are your brothers like to be idle. But I would have nothing said of it to any body, though your brother Sam shall write to you shortly about it.

"In the afternoon read what you will; and be sure to walk an hour, if fair, in the fields. Get Thirlby's Chrysostom De Sacerdotio; master it,—digest it. I took some pains, a year or two since, in drawing up some advices to Mr. Hoole's brother, then to be my curate at Epworth, before his ordination, which may not be unuseful to you;* therefore I will send them shortly to your brother

* It is in all probability to this work that Mr. Whitfield refers, when, in a letter to Mr. John Wesley, whom he honours as his "spiritual father," he says, "I received benefit by your father's advice to a young clergyman." The letter is dated April, 1737, and is to be found in the Meth. Mag., Vol. XXI., p. 359.

Somewhat different from the work here alluded to, is another, for the use of ministers, which is supposed to have proceeded from the pen of the rector of Epworth. A literary friend remarks to the writer of this note, "I have lately perused a work, entitled, 'The

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Sam for you: but you must return me them again, I having no copy; and pray let none but yourself see them.

"By all this you see I am not for your going over-hastily into orders. When I am for your taking them, you shall know it; and it is not impossible but I may be with you, if God so long spare the life and health of

"Your affectionate father,

"SAM. WESLEY."

Clergyman's Vade Mecum,' which I am inclined to believe was compiled by Samuel Wesley, the elder. The fifth edition was published in 1722; the sixth, in 1731. I adduce the following reasons in support of my opinion. 1. The style and sarcastic wit are peculiarly his own. 2. The work was printed for Robert Kreaplock, his own publisher. 3. He quotes chiefly from John de Athon, who was a prebendary of Lincoln, in the 14th century, and says, 'Upon perusal of the registry at Lincoln, I find,' &c. Observe, this was the diocese to which Wesley belonged, and he corresponded very freely with Dr. Reinold, who was then the bishop of it. 4. He dwells largely on convocations, and suggests several improvements in the Spiritual Courts,—a favourite subject in his 'Reply to Palmer.' In a note, p. 188, he remarks, 'Solemn penance was performed only in Lent, with a white sheet and bare feet; this none but the ordinary could enjoin.' Dr. Clarke showed me once some cases of individuals who had done this penance in Epworth Church, and which I hope he has introduced into his work on the 'Wesley Family.' Take a specimen of his wit: 'In times of popery the clergy were rewarded for their pious frauds with a double portion of wealth and honour; but since the reformation, for telling plain truth they have been requited with poverty and contempt. I don't remember any temporal advantage that the clergy have gained in these last ages, excepting that of wives. But as by this means the clergyman's family has been enlarged, so there has been very little done to enable him to maintain it, except by some private benefactions," p. 313. Connect with these sentiments the rector's domestic circumstances, and they will be found purely Wesleyan.—EDITOR.

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"I like your verses on the lxvth Psalm, and would not have you to bury your talent. All are well, and send duties.

"Work and write while you can. You see Time has shaken me by the hand, and Death is but a little behind him. My eyes and heart are now almost all I have left; and bless God for them."

What the full nature and extent of the scheme referred to above was, I have not been able to find out. It seems he had intended a copious list of various readings; and intended particularly to show how the Vulgate Version (proposed by St. Jerome to be taken from the Hebrew text) differed from the original; and how the Alexandrian and Vatican copies of the Septuagint differed from each other; and also to point out the variations between them and the ancient Greek Versions of Symmachus and Theodotion, together with the other existing fragments of the Hexapla of Origen. He appears to have intended also to show the variations between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch. He tells us he had in the space of one year gone four times through the Pentateuch. By this I suppose he meant, reading—1. The Hebrew text; 2. The Chaldeee paraphrases of Ben Uzziel and Onkelos; 3. The Septuagint; and, 4. The Vulgate. And to read each of those critically, and the whole in twelve months, was no mean labour.*

* The Hebrew Bible used by the rector of Epworth was a copy of the second edition of Sebastian Munster's, printed at Basil, 1546, folio; and in it, relative to the above fact, I find the following entry in his own hand-writing, both at the beginning and end of the Pentateuch. "In nom. Dom. 7r. 25. 1724. Bis Pentateuchum per legi, et κατα ρημα comparavi. Et hodie, 3io incipio.

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This scheme would have wanted nothing for general utility had it included the Syriac of the Old and New Testaments, and particularly of the latter. A work of this kind, even now, would be of the utmost consequence to biblical students. What became of the preparations for this promising work I have not been able to learn, any more than of the full extent of his scheme. He and his three sons were amply qualified for the undertaking.

On a plan nearly similar to that projected by Mr. Samuel Wesley, Mr. S. Bagster, of Paternoster Row,

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4to Feb. 8, 1724-25. 5to. . . ." From this entry we find that he had read over the Pentateuch twice by Sep. 25, 1724, and began the third reading the same day; and that he had finished the fourth reading on Feb. 6, 1725: and about the 8th of the same month had commenced the fifth reading; and all this he did, comparing the original texts, as he says, *κατα ρημα, word for word.* This collation, which was done at Wroot, exists in the margin of the copy of Munster's Bible which I have already mentioned, and is one of the most curious specimens of careful, laborious, and accurate criticism I have ever seen. The work, which is only the first volume, was furnished to me by a friend who is now with God; and I shall take care that the book be deposited in the archives of the Methodists' Conference, as a monument of the learning and industry of the rector of Epworth.

[This volume has also the autograph of "John Wesley," into whose hands it probably fell after his father's death. It comprises the sacred text from Genesis to Kings. As Dr. Clarke's intention to leave the volume to the Wesleyan Conference was probably not known to his family, it was placed in the sale catalogue of his library after his decease, and stood lot 404, for the "Second Day's Sale." On that day, Feb. 19, 1833, it was knocked down to T. Marriott, Esq., for two guineas! It was subsequently purchased by the publishers of this work, and finally presented to the writer of this note, who has taken care to secure it to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference.—EDITOR.]

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London, has published a Polyglott, in a 4to., 8vo., and 12mo. size. The Old Testament comprises, at one view, 1. The Hebrew text, with points; 2. The authorised English Version, with various readings and parallel texts; 3. The Greek Version of the Seventy; and 4. The Vulgate Latin. The New Testament comprehends, 1. The Greek text; 2. The ancient Syriac; 3. The Latin Vulgate; and 4. The authorized English Version as above.

Some other letters, which have survived the destruction of many Wesleyan documents, may be here introduced.

"*Wroot, June* 26, 1727.

"Dear son John,

"I do'nt think I've yet thanked you enough for your kind and dutiful letter of the 14th inst., which I received at Bawtrey, last Wednesday, and answered there in a hurry; yet, on reflection, I see no reason to alter my mind much as to what I then writ; but if you had any prospect of doing good on your pupil, should have been pleased with your attempting it sometime longer. If that is past, or hopeless, there's an end of that matter.

"When you come hither, after having taken care of Charterhouse, and your own rector, your head-quarters will, I believe, be for the most part at Wroot, as mine, if I can, at Epworth, though sometimes making an exchange. The truth is, I am hipp'd (with an i) by my voyage and journey to and from Epworth last Sunday; being lamed with having my breeches too full of water, partly with a downfal from a thunder shower, and partly from the wash over the boat. Yet, I thank God, I was able to preach here in the afternoon, and was as well this morning as ever, except a little pain and lameness, both which I hope to wash off with an hair of the same dog this evening.

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"I wish the rain had not reached us on this side Lincoln; but we have it so continual that we have scarce one bank left, and I can't possibly have one quarter of oats in all the levels; but, thanks be to God, the field-barley and rye are good. We can neither go a foot, or horseback, to Epworth, but only by boat as far as Scawsit Bridge, and then walk over the common, though I hope it will be soon better. I would gladly send horses, but don't think I've now any that would perform the journey; for, 1. My Filley has scarcely recovered from the last, and I question if she ever will. However, I've turned her up to the wagon, and very seldom ride her. 2. Mettle is almost blind. 3. Your favourite Two-eyed-nag they have taken to swing in the back, and he's never like to be good for riding any more. 4. And Bounce, and your mother's nag, you know. Therefore, if you can get a pretty strong horse, not over fine, nor old, nor fat, I think it would improve, especially in summer, and be worth your while. I would send as far as Nottingham to meet you, but would have your studies as little intermitted as possible, and hope I shall do a month or two longer, as I'm sure I ought to do all I can both for God's family and my own; and when I find it sinks me, or perhaps a little before, I'll certainly send you word, with about a fortnight's notice; and in the mean time sending you my blessing, as being

"Your loving father,

"SAM. WESLEY."

"P. S.—Dear Charles,

"Were I you, it should go hard but I'd get one of the Blenheim prizes—Thomas calls—Good night to you."

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"*Wroot, June* 26, 1727.

"I promise to pay £10 per ann. (at the least) to my son, Charles Wesley, of Christchurch, Oxon, at every May-day, commencing at May-day next for this present year.

"SAM. WESLEY, SEN."

"*Wroot, July* 18, 1727.

"Dear son John,

"We received, last post, your compliments of condolence and congratulation to your mother on the supposition of her near approaching demise; to which your sister Patty will by no means subscribe, for she says she is not so good a philosopher as you are, and that she can't spare her mother yet, if it please God, without very great inconveniency.

"And indeed, though she has now and then some very sick fits, yet I hope the sight of you would revive her. However, when you come you will see a new face of things, my family being now pretty well colonized, and all perfect harmony; much happier in no small straits, than perhaps we ever were before in our greatest affluence; and you'll find a servant that will make us rich, if God gives us any thing to work upon. I know not but it may be this prospect, together with my easiness in my family, which keeps my spirits from sinking, though they tell me I've lost some of my tallow between Wroot and Epworth; but that I don't value, as long as I've strength still left to perform my office.

"If Charles can get to London, I believe Hardsley, at the Red Lion, Aldersgate-street, might procure him a horse as reasonably as any, to ride along with you to Lincoln (city), and direct him where to leave it there

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with the carrier to return, which will be the cheapest and the safest way; and I'll warrant you will find means to bring Charles up again. Your own best way, as in my last, will be to buy a horse for yourself, for the reasons I then told you. I'm weary, but

"Your loving father,

"SAM. WESLEY."

"*Wroot, July* 18, 1727.

"Dear Charles,

"I told you the Chaldee would be easy (Scaliger says the Ethiopic is but a dialect of it); so will the Syriac; and even the Arabic, as soon as you can crack it, and I believe pleasanter as well as richer than all the rest. And I doubt not but he that's master of the Hebrew may soon conquer all the others, which will both receive it, and give light to each other, especially (as I've heard) the Arabic, whereof I question whether it be ever exhaustible, and which is yet spoken and writ from the hills of Granada to the uttermost easterly bounds of the world. I have a sample of it for you here, if you are got so far, in a specimen of the Arabic Testament, and have picked out a pretty many words in Job, which the commentators say are of one of those three languages, wherein your assistance will do me a great pleasure. If you can get the Oxford edition of Tacitus's Annals, transcribe the passage in the sixth book concerning the Phœnix, and the annotations upon it, and be so kind as to bring them with you.

"I've writ on the other side, to your brother, my thoughts of the best way of your coming, and the sooner the better; but you'll send word by post the day we must send for you to Lincoln. I heartily wish I could as

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well send you both a viaticum, as I do my best blessings. From

"Your affectionate father,

"SAM. WESLEY."

Mr. Wesley thought himself, at the time he wrote one of the preceding letters, near the grave; his right hand was palsied, and he had other infirmities: but he lived rather more than ten years after the date of this letter.

In the course of the summer, he again writes; and as his letters embrace subjects which have excited general interest, they may here be introduced:—

"*Wroot, July* 14, 1725.

"Dear Son,

"As for Thomas â Kempis, all the world are apt to strain either on one side or the other. And 'tis no wonder if contemplative men, especially when wrapt in a cowl, and the darkness of the mystic divinity, when they observed the bulk of the world so mad for sensual pleasures, should run into the contrary extreme, and attempt to persuade us to have no senses at all, and that God made them to very little purpose. But for all that, mortification is still an indispensable Christian duty. The world is a syren, and we must have a care of her: And if the *young man* will *rejoice in his youth*, yet let him take care that his joys be innocent; and in order to this remember, that *for all these things* God will bring him into judgment. I have only this to add of my friend and old companion, that, making some grains of allowance, he may be read to great advantage; nay, that 'tis almost impossible to peruse him seriously, without admiring, and I think in some measure imitating, his heroic strains of humility, piety, and devotion."

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Again :—

"*Wroot, Oct.* 19, 1725.

"Dear Son,

"You seem staggered at the severe words in the Athanasian creed. Consider, their point is levelled against, only against, obstinate heretics. A distinction is undoubtedly to be made, between what is wilful, and what is in some measure involuntary. God certainly will make a difference. We don't so well know it. We therefore must leave that to him, and keep to the rule which he has given.

"As to the main of the cause, the best way to deal with our adversaries is to turn the war and their own vaunted arms against them. From balancing the schemes, it will appear, that there are many irreconcileable absurdities and contradictions in theirs; but none such (though indeed some difficulties) in ours. To instance in one of a side: they can never prove a contradiction in our Three and One, unless we affirm them to be so in the same respect; which every child knows we do not. But we can prove there is one in a creature's being a Creator, which they assert of our Lord."

I have already mentioned Mr. John Wesley's standing for a fellowship in Lincoln college, and succeeding; at this his father greatly rejoiced, as we may see from the following letter, which shows also the straitness of family circumstances with which this excellent man had always to contend, while endeavouring to bring up a large family, and educate them in such a way as to qualify them for gaining their bread in respectable and useful situations.

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"*Wroot, April* 1, 1726.

"Dear son John,

"I had both yours since your election: in both you express yourself as becomes you, for what I had willingly, though with much greater difficulty than you imagine, done for you; for the last twelvemonth pinched me so hard, that I'm forced to beg time of your brother Sam till after harvest, to pay him the £10 that he lent you; nor shall I have so much as that, I question whether £5, to keep my family from May-day till after harvest; and don't expect I shall be able to do any thing for Charles when he goes to the university. And what will be my own fate, God knows, before the summer be over, *sed passi graviora.* Wherever I am, my Jackey is Fellow of Lincoln! Yet all this, and perhaps worse than you know, has not made me forget you; for I wrote to Dr. King, inclosed in one to Sam, desiring leave for you to move for two or three months into the country, where you would be gladly welcome, though with small hopes of obtaining it, as you know what has passed already.

"As for advice: keep your best friend fast; and next to him, Dr. Morley; and have a care of your other friends, especially the younger. All at present, from

"Your loving father,

"SAM. WESLEY."

To his son Charles, who had in 1729 taken his bachelor's degree in Christ's Church, Oxford, and had begun to take pupils, he wrote as follows:—

"*Epworth, Jan.* 29, 1729-30.

"Dear Charles,

"I had your last with your brother's, and you may

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easily guess whether I were not pleased with it, both on your account and on my own. You have a double advantage by your pupils, which will soon bring you more if you will improve it, as I firmly hope you will, in taking the utmost care to form their minds to piety, as well as learning. As for yourself, between logic, grammar, and mathematics, be idle if you can; and I give my blessing to the bishop for having tied you a little faster, by obliging you to rub up your Arabic; and a fixed and constant method will make all both easy and delightful to you. But for all that, you must find time every day for walking; which you know you may do with advantage to your pupils; and a little more robust exercise now and then will do you no harm.

"You are now launched fairly, Charles: hold up your head, and swim like a man; and when you cuff the wave beneath you, say to it, much as another hero did,—

Carolum vehis, et Caroli fortunam.

"Thou carriest Charles, and Charles's fortune."

But always keep your eye above the pole star. And so God send you a good voyage through the troublesome sea of life! which is the hearty prayer of

"Your loving father,

"SAM. WESLEY."

The piety and good sense of Mr. Wesley are strikingly manifest in the advice which he gave to his sons at Oxford, when the public clamour was excited against them on account of the unusual strictness of their lives. Of this his son John has given the following interesting account in a letter to Mr. Morgan, of Dublin, dated Oct. 18, 1732, where he says, "I wrote an account to my father of our whole design, withal begging that he who

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had lived seventy years in the world, and seen as much of it as most private men have ever done, would advise us whether we had yet gone too far, and whether we should now stand still, or go forward." His answer is as follows:—

"*Sept.* 28, 1730.

"As to your designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *Valde probo;* and that I have the highest reason to bless God that he has given me two sons together in Oxford, to whom he has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them. They have but one more enemy to combat with—the flesh, which if they take care to subdue by fasting and prayer, there will be no more for them to do, but to proceed steadily in the same course, and expect the crown which fadeth not away. You have reason to bless God as I do, that you have so fast a friend as Mr. Morgan, who I see in the foremost difficult service is ready to break the ice for you. I think I must adopt him as my son, together with you and your brother Charles; and when I have such a Ternion to prosecute that war, wherein I am now *miles emeritus*, I shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate.

"I am afraid lest the main objection you make against your going on in the business with the prisoners may secretly proceed from flesh and blood. For who can harm you, if you are followers of that which is so good, and which will be one of the marks by which the Shepherd of Israel will know his sheep at the last day? Though if it were possible for you to suffer a little in the cause, you would have a confessor's reward. You own that none but such as are out of their senses would be pre-

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judiced against your acting in this manner, but say, "These are they that need a physician." But what if they will not accept of one who will be welcome to the poor prisoners? Go on, then, in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour has directed you, and that track wherein your father has gone before you. For when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, I visited those in the castle there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day. Walk as prudently as you can, though not fearfully, and my heart and prayers are with you. Your first regular step is to consult with him (if any such there be) who has a jurisdiction over the prisoners, and the next is, to obtain the direction and approbation of your bishop. This is Monday morning, at which time I shall never forget you. If it be possible, I should be glad to see you all three here in the fine end of summer. But if I cannot have that satisfaction, I am sure I can reach you every day, though you were beyond the Indies. Accordingly, to Him who is every where I now heartily commit you, as being

"Your most affectionate
"and joyful father,
"SAM. WESLEY."

In the following year Mr. Wesley met with an accident that was likely to have proved fatal to him. Mr. John Wesley, then at Oxford, having had some account of it, wrote to his mother for the particulars, of which she gave him the following detail:—

"*July* 12, 1731.

"Dear Jacky,

"———— The particulars of your father's fall are as follows: On Friday before Whitsunday, the 4th of June,

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I, your sister Martha, and our maid, were going in our wagon to see the ground we hire of Mrs. Knight, at Low Millwood. He sat in a chair at one end of the wagon, I in another at the other end, Matty between us, and the maid behind me. Just before we reached the close, going down a small hill, the horses took into a gallop; out flies your father and his chair. The maid, seeing the horses run, hung all her weight on my chair, and kept me from keeping him company. She cried out to William to stop the horses, and that her master was killed. The fellow leaped out of the seat, and stayed the horses; then ran to Mr. Wesley, but ere he got to him, two neighbours who were providentially met together raised his head, upon which he had pitched, and held him backward, by which means he began to respire; for 'tis certain, by the blackness in his face, that he had never drawn breath from the time of his fall till they helped him up. By this time I was got to him, asked him how he did, and persuaded him to drink a little ale, for we had brought a bottle with us; he looked prodigiously wild, but began to speak, and told me he ailed nothing. I informed him of his fall. He said he 'knew nothing of any fall, he was as well as ever he was in his life.' We bound up his head, which was very much bruised, and helped him into the wagon again, and set him at the bottom of it, while I supported his head between my hands, and the man led the horses softly home. I sent presently for Mr. Harper, who took a good quantity of blood from him; and then he began to feel pain in several parts, particularly in his side and shoulder. He had a very ill night, but on Saturday morning Mr. Harper came again to him, dressed his head, and gave him something which much abated the pain in his side. We repeated the dose at bedtime, and

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on Whitsunday he preached twice, and gave the sacrament, which was too much for him to do; but nobody could dissuade him from it. On Monday he was ill; slept almost all day. On Tuesday the gout came; but with two or three nights taking *Bateman*, it went off again, and he has since been better than could be expected. We thought at first the wagon had gone over him; but it only went over his gown sleeve; and the nails took a little skin off his knuckles, but did him no further hurt."

Thus far Mrs. Wesley. It is evident from the manner of his fall, and the state he was in when taken up, that had there not been timely help, he would have never breathed more. Was there not an especial providence concerned in preserving the life of this good man?

The generality of English readers will wonder at horses galloping away with a wagon; and so should I, had I not known those which are used in the Isle of Axholme, and particularly about Epworth. It is a long, light, and very narrow vehicle, with four narrow wheels, drawn by two horses abreast; and it is no unusual thing to drive with these wagons at a very high trot, and not seldom at a gallop, when going to the harvest-fields.

This letter, the original of which is before me, seems to have been carefully preserved by Mr. John Wesley, as a record of God's mercy in the preservation of his father's life. He had endorsed it thus:—"*My Father's Fall.*"

Hard pressed as Mr. Samuel was in his circumstances, he was naturally a humane man, and was always on the alert where benevolence was concerned. The following letters are illustrative of this trait in his character.

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"*Epworth, March* 27, 1733.

"Mr. Porter,

"Dorothy Whitehead, widow, lately died here, leaving four small children, and all about her house not sufficient to bury her, as you will see by the oath of her executor added to the will; for a will she would have to dispose of a few roods of land, lest her children should fall out about it. It is her brother Simon Thew, the bearer, who consented to be her executor, that he might take care of her children. I gave him the oath, as you will see, as strictly as I could, and am satisfied it is all exactly true. They were so poor, that I forgave them what was my due for it, and so did even my clerk for her burial. If there be any little matter due for the probate of the Will, I entreat and believe you will be as low as possible; wherein you know your charity will be acceptable to God, and will much oblige

"Your ready friend,

"SAM. WESLEY."

P.S. "I hope you have received of the apparitor two guineas more, which I sent you by him some time since for two licenses, which is all I have parted with since the former; being too weak myself (I doubt) to be at the visitation."

"*Epworth, May* 14, 1734.

"Mr. Stephenson,

"As soon as I heard from John Brown that your kinswoman Stephenson had writ to you for her son Timothy, and that you had desired her to send for him up, I did not need any to compliment me with desiring my advice or assistance in it; but because it was a charitable action, and I knew the widow was not able to fit

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him out herself, having been left indifferently with three children beside him, and yet has not hitherto been burdensome to any, I spoke to several of my best parishioners—Mr. John Maw, Mr. Barnard, and others, that we might be as kind to him as we have been to others who have been put apprentices at the public charge, which could be done but meanly at £5, according as you proposed it, though his mother should be able to scratch for a few shoes and stockings besides for him. I went twice on your account and his to a public meeting at the church on this occasion, before I had seen the mother or the boy. But the highest sum we could bring our people to, in order to make a man of him, was no more than three pounds, which I knew was far short of the matter. The same day, being Sunday last, I went and talked to Mr. John Maw and Mr. Barnard, who were his friends before, and we resolved to make up the rest by a private contribution among ourselves. I think it was the next day that I sent for the lad and his mother to my house, though I had often endeavoured in vain before to see them both. Accordingly they came, and I found he was a lad of spirit, and that he would please you, and be fit for his business, as far as his strength would go; encouraging them both, and telling his mother that she might depend on five pounds, besides what she herself could do, to set him out. This was all I could do for him in the dark, not having seen the letters that have passed between Mr. Hall and you about him: and if herein I have been over-officious, I hope you will (at the least) excuse it from

"Your obliged friend,

"SAM. WESLEY."

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"P. S.—Mine and my wife's service and thanks to you and yours for your civilities."

In the following year he was confined to bed, attended by three physicians; but what the nature of his complaint was does not appear. The affliction, however, was sanctified to the removal of that irritability of temper into which he was so often betrayed; for on the receipt of his brother's caustic letter, which I have already noticed, Mr. W., speaking of himself in the third person, says, "I was a little surprised that he did not fall into flouncing and bouncing, as I have often seen him do on far less provocation; which I ascribed to a fit of sickness which he hath lately had, and which I hope may have brought him to something of a better mind." Mr. Richard Morgan, in a letter, dated Feb. 17, 1733, addressed to Mr. John Wesley, says: "I assure you, without any dissimulation or flattery, I rejoice sincerely at the recovery of the good old gentleman, your father, and am really concerned that the scorners of the university continue so malevolent to you." [MS. letter.] This refers to a pamphlet which had just been published, viz.: "The Oxford Methodists; being some account of a Society of Young Gentleman in that City, so denominated; setting forth their Rise, Views, and Designs. With some Occasional Remarks on a Letter inserted in Fog's Journal of December 9, 1732, relating thereto. In a Letter from a Gentleman near Oxford to his Friend in London." Printed for J. Roberts, price 6*d*.

Of the settlement of Mr. Wesley's family I find little. But the following letter relative to the person who married his daughter Mary, is worthy of insertion:—

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"*Westminster*, *Jan.* 14, 1733-4.

"To the Lord Chancellor, for John Whitelamb, now Curate of Epworth.

"My Lord,

"The small rectory of Wroot, in the diocese and county of Lincoln, adjoining to the Isle of Axholme, is in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, and more than seven years since was conferred on Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth. It lies in our low levels, and is often overflowed; four or five years since I have had it; and the people have lost most or all the fruits of the earth to that degree that it has hardly brought me in fifty pounds per annum, *omnibus annis*; and some years not enough to pay my curate there his salary of £30 a year. This living, by your lordship's permission and favour, I would gladly resign to one Mr. John Whitelamb, born in the neighbourhood of Wroot, as his father and grandfather lived in it, when I took him from among the scholars of a charity school, founded by one Mr. Travers, an attorney, brought him to my house, and educated him there, where he was my amanuensis for four years, in transcribing my "Dissertations on the Book of Job," now well advanced in the press; and drawing my maps and figures for it, as well as we could by the light of nature. After this, I sent him to Oxford, to my son John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, under whom he made such proficiency, that he was the last summer admitted by the Bishop of Oxford into deacon's orders, and placed my curate in Epworth, while I came up to town to expedite the printing my book.

"Since I was here, I gave consent to his marrying one of my seven daughters, and they are married accordingly; and though I can spare little more with her, yet I would gladly give them a little glebe land at Wroot, where

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I am sure they will not want springs of water. But *they* love the place, though I can get nobody else to reside on it. If I do not flatter myself, he is indeed a valuable person, of uncommon brightness, learning, piety, and indefatigable industry; always loyal to the king, zealous for the church, and friendly to our dissenting brethren;* and for the truth of this character I will be answerable to God and man. If, therefore, your lordship will grant me the favour to let me resign the living unto him, and please to confer it on him, I shall always remain,

"Your Lordship's most bounden,

"most grateful, and most obedient servant,

SAMUEL WESLEY."

Mary, the wife of this Mr. John Whitelamb, died of her first child. The Lord Chancellor transferred the living as requested;† and Mr. Whitelamb was promoted to it in the same month.

We have another notice of Mr. Whitelamb, about this time, in a letter to Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Lincoln, from Mr. Wesley:—

Epworth, May 2, 1734.

"My Lord,

"I thank God, I got well home, and found all well

* Though the rector was "friendly" to the "dissenters," his private sentiments would never allow his friendship to proceed to cordiality. "A thousand times," says Mr. Wesley, "I have found my father's words true: 'You may have peace with the dissenters if you do not so humour them as to dispute with them. But if you do, they will out-face and out-lung you, and at the end you will be where you were at the beginning.'" Works, vol. xvi., p. 37. From hence, it would seem, that the friendship of policy was all that existed.—EDITOR.

† See Gent. Mag., Feb., vol. iv., p. 108. "Mr. Whitelamb to the rectory of Wroote, Lincolnshire."—EDITOR.

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here, since which my son-in-law, Mr. Whitelamb, is gone with his wife to reside at Wroot, and takes true pains among the people. He designs to be inducted immediately after visitation. At my return to Epworth, looking a little among my people, I found there were two strangers come hither, both of which I have discovered to be papists, though they come to church, and I have hopes of making *one* or both of them good members of the church of England."

We shall hear again of young Mr. Whitelamb, as Mr. Wesley's assistant on the Book of Job.

We have already seen that Mr. Wesley was long engaged in a work that had for its object the elucidation of the Book of Job, proposals for the printing of which were published in 1729. From the preceding letter to the chancellor, we find it was in the press so early as the year 1732, but was not finished before 1736. This delay was not brooked by the subscribers, and from them he heard of many complaints. In a letter to a gentleman of the name of Pygot, who had written to him on the subject, he vindicates himself, and accounts for these delays in the following manner:

To Mr. Pygot.

"*Epworth, Feb.* 22, 1732-3.

"Dear Sir,

"Many thanks for your civil letter. I cannot wonder that any should think long of Job's coming out, though 'tis common in books of this nature, especially when the author is absent from the press, and there are so many cuts and maps in it, as must be in mine. However, I owe it to my subscribers, and indeed to myself, to give some farther account of this matter.

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"Now if Job's friends have need of patience, at seeing him lie so long on the dunghill, or, which is much the same, the printing-house, how much more has Job himself need of it, who is sensible his reputation suffers more and more by the delay of it; though if he himself had died, as he was lately in a very fair way to it, having been as good as given over by three physicians, there would have been no manner of doubt (that every subscriber would have had his book) to any one who knows the character of my son at Westminster. Neither can I yet be satisfied with this, though I have already lost the use of one hand in the service; yet, I thank God, *non deficit alterâ*, and I begin to put it to school this day to learn to write, in order to help its lame brother. And when it can write legibly, I design, if it please God, for London myself this summer, to push on the editing of it, by helping to correct the press both in text and maps, and to frame the indexes; more than which I cannot do. Though there are so few subscribers, very many having forgot their large promises to assist me in it, that I hardly expect to receive one hundred pounds clear for all my ten years' pains and labour, if you will be so kind as to communicate this to any of my subscribers, who may fall in your way, it may perhaps give some satisfaction to them; however, it will be but a piece of justice to your most obliged friend and brother,

"SAMUEL WESLEY."

The title of this work is, "Dissertationes in Librum Jobi: Autore SAMUEL WESLEY, Rectore de Epworth, in Diœcesi Lincolniensi, fol., Lond., typis Gulielmi Bowyer, 1736.

Dedicated to Queen Caroline, in the very short but elegant manner following:—

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SERENISSIMÆ
CAROLINÆ
DEI GRATIA
Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Reginæ
LITERARUM FAUTRICI,
Qui Juvenis, Reginæ MARIÆ,
Deinde provectior Ætate ANNÆ,
OPERA SUA CONSECRAVIT:
Idem Senex, plusquam SEPTUAGENARIUS,
EXTREMOS HOSCE LABORES
HUMILLIME OFFERT
SAMUEL WESLEY.

By this we find that Mr. Wesley had the singular honour of dedicating different works to three British Queens in succession. His History of the Life of Christ he dedicated to Queen Mary; his History of the Old and New Testament, to Queen Anne; and his Dissertations on the Book of Job, to Queen Caroline.

When Mr. Wesley had purposed to dedicate this work to Queen Caroline, he wrote to both his sons, Samuel and John, relative to the proper mode of proceeding; but, on inquiry, they found many obstacles in the way to the royal presence, occasioned, it appears, by some offence given by Mr. Samuel in his satires on the ministry and their friends. How these obstacles were at last removed we are not informed; but the queen received the work, as we have seen above. The following letter, written to Mr. Samuel while this subject was pending, is both curious and important.

To my son Samuel.

"*Epworth, Dec.* 17, 1730.

"Dear Son,

"On Wednesday last, the 15th instant, I had yours of the 11th and 12th, which has made me pretty quiet in

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reference to my dedication, as indeed my heart was never violently set upon it before, or I hope on any thing else in this world. I find it stuck where I always boded it would, as in the words of your brother in yours, when you waited on him with my letter and addressed him on the occasion. 'The short answer I received was this, it was utterly impossible to obtain leave on my account; you had the misfortune to be my father; and I had a long bill against M——n.'

"I guess at the particulars, that you have let your wit too loose against some favourites; which is often more highly resented, and harder to be pardoned, than if you had done it against greater persons. It seems then that original sin goes sometimes upwards as well as downwards; and we must suffer for our offspring. Though, notwithstanding this disappointment, owing, I doubt not, to some misconduct, I shall never think it 'a misfortune to have been your father.' I am sensible it would avail little for me to plead, in proof of my loyalty, the having written and printed the first thing that appeared in defence of the government after the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the crown (which was an answer to a speech without doors); and I wrote a great many little pieces more, both in prose and verse, with the same view; and that I ever had the most tender affection and deepest veneration for my sovereign and the royal family; on which account it is no secret to you, though it is to most others, that I have undergone the most sensible pains and inconveniences of my whole life, and that for a great many years together; and yet have still, I thank God, retained my integrity firm and immoveable, till I have conquered at the last. I must confess, I had the (I hope at the least) pardonable vanity (when I had dedicated two books before to two of our

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English queens, Queen Mary and Queen Anne) to desire to inscribe a third, which has cost me ten times as much labour as all the rest, to her Gracious Majesty, Queen Caroline, who, I have heard, is an encourager of learning. And this work, I am sure, needs a royal encouragement, whether or no it may deserve it. Neither would I yet despair of it, had I any friend who would fairly represent that and me to her Majesty. Be that as it pleaseth Him in whose hands are the hearts of all the princes upon earth; and he turneth them whithersoever he pleases.

"If we have not subscriptions enough for the cuts, as proposed, we must be content to lower our sails again, and to have only the maps, the picture of Job, which I must have at the beginning, and some few others. The family, I thank God, is all well, as is your affectionate father,

"SAM. WESLEY, Sen."

Before the work was put to press, Mr. Wesley had the opportunity of consulting the library of the Marquis of Rockingham, at Wentworth House. For this purpose, he took his son, Mr. John Wesley, with him, to aid him in his researches, and to assist him in transcribing such extracts as might be valuable to the work. This circumstance is thus noticed by Mr. Everett, in his "Sketches of Methodism in Sheffield:"—"Mr. Wesley," says he, "was on a visit to Wentworth House, in 1733, with his father, who was then engaged with a literary work (Dissertationes in Librum Jobi), and found it necessary to consult the library of the Marquis. Their stay being prolonged over the sabbath-day, Mr. John Wesley occupied the pulpit in Wentworth church, to the no small gratification of the parishioners. What tended to

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excite more than usual attention was, that the preacher was a stranger, the son of a venerable clergyman, and had his father as a hearer." This fact Mr. Everett had from the lips of a person who heard Mr. John Wesley on the occasion. It appears from Thorseby's Diary, that the rector of Epworth occasionally visited Leeds also. "I was visited to-day," says that writer, "by the noted poet, Mr. Wesley, then at Alderman Rooke's." I shall here add a letter from Mr. Samuel Wesley, to General Oglethorpe, as it shows the state of forwardness in which this work was, the following year. It is dated,

"*Epworth, July* 6, 1734.

"Honoured Sir,

"May I be admitted, while such crowds of our nobility and gentry are pouring in their congratulations, to press with my poor mite of thanks into the presence of one who so well deserves the title of universal benefactor to mankind. It is not only your valuable favours on many accounts to my son, late of Westminster, and myself, when I was not a little pressed in the world, nor your more extensive and generous charity to the poor prisoners; it is not this only that so much demands my warmest acknowledgments, as your disinterested and immoveable attachment to your country, and your raising a new country, or rather a little world of your own, in the midst of almost wild woods and uncultivated deserts, where men may live free and happy, if they are not hindered by their own stupidity and folly, in spite of the unkindness of their brother mortals. Neither ought I ever to forget your singular goodness to my little scholar and parishioner, and creditor too, John Lyndall; for since he went over I have received some money for him, whereof I sent him the account in my last, both of £10 I have

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paid for him, and what still remains in my hands for his order, it seeming necessary that he should make a slip hither into Lincolnshire, if you could spare him for a fortnight or a month, to settle his affairs here with his father's creditors, which I hope he may now nearly do, and then he will have a clear estate left, I think about £6 a year, to dispose of as he pleases. I hope he has behaved with such faithfulness and industry since he has had the honour and happiness of waiting upon you, as not to have forfeited the favour of so good a master.

"I owe you, Sir, besides this, some account of my little affairs, since the beginning of your expedition. Notwithstanding my own and my son's violent illness, which held me half a year,* and him above a twelvemonth, I

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* The two first sermons he preached after this affliction were from John v. 14: "Jesus findeth him in the temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee."

These words, he informed his congregation, he had chosen as most suitable to his own circumstances, and which, he intimated, might not be improper for those of others. The following is the outline. In the context,

The history of the pool of Bethesda.

What is meant by the angel which troubled the waters?

Whether a celestial angel, or the priest's servant only?

If it was miraculous, the reason of the miracle about that time.

How long we may suppose it lasted, and how it came to cease?

The superiority of this one miracle of Christ, in curing this impotent man, above all those that were wrought by the angelical operation.

The unreasonable behaviour of the Jews on this occasion.

The sensible answer of the man who had been healed.

So much for the context. The text itself contains,

The Saviour's words to the man whom he had healed.

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have made a shift to get more than three parts in four of Job printed off, and both the printing, paper, and maps, hitherto paid for. My son John, at Oxford, now his elder brother is gone to Tiverton, takes care of the remainder of the impression in London, and I have an ingenious artist here with me, in my house, at Epworth, who is graving and working off the remaining maps and figures for me; so that I hope, if the printer does not

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1. The place where our Lord found him, and upon what occasion.
2. What he said to him on that occasion.
(1) To put him in mind of his late deliverance, "Behold," &c.
(2) The use which he told him he ought to make of it, "Sin no more," &c.
(3) The application of the whole to any one who has been sick, and whom God has been pleased to restore to health again.

The last two sermons he has left upon record were preached at Epworth, August 18, 1734, on 1 Sam. xii. 17: "Is it not wheat-harvest to-day? I will call unto the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain; that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great, which ye have done in the sight of the Lord." From hence he endeavours to show,

That unseasonable weather in time of harvest is a just judgment inflicted by the hand of God for the wickedness of any people.

"I am afraid," continues he, "nay, too well assured, that there are a far greater number of you who have hardened your hearts as did Pharaoh, when he saw there was a little respite, and the mighty thunderings ceased, and the rain was not poured upon the earth; for otherwise, how came the house of God so empty here last Sunday? though other churches, I doubt, were little better for it; and the people went in such shameful droves to do their own ways, and find their own pleasures, and speak their own words, and left so very small a flock behind them on their knees to cry mightily unto God, as did the poor affrighted Ninevites, that he would have mercy upon us, that we might not perish."

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hinder me, I shall have the whole ready by next spring; and, by God's leave, be in London myself to deliver the books perfect. I print 500 copies, as in my proposals, whereof I have above 300 already subscribed for, and among my subscribers, fifteen or sixteen English bishops, with some of Ireland.

I have not yet done with my own impertinent nostrums. I thank God, I creep up hill more than I did formerly, being eased of the weight of four daughters out of seven, as I hope I shall be of the fifth in a little longer. When Mr. Lyndal comes down, I shall trouble you, by him, with a copy of all the maps and figures which I have yet printed, they costing me no more than the paper since the graving is over.

"If you will be pleased herewith to accept the tender of my most sincere respect and gratitude, you will thereby confer one further obligation on,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,

"SAMUEL WESLEY."

To James Oglethorpe, Esq.

It is very likely that Mr. Wesley had learnt before he died that his work, when finished, would be received by the queen, and that he had permission to dedicate it to Her Majesty; and it must have consoled him; as it would have pained him most sensibly to have fallen under the displeasure of one whom he most sincerely reverenced. I shall now proceed to a description of the work itself.

The Dissertations are thirty-five in number, some of which are very curious.

From the preface we learn the following particulars:—

1. That he had for a long time carefully read over this

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book, first in Hebrew, and secondly in the Septuagint; that he collated these together, and formed the result into notes and observations on the passages which gave them birth; that, having procured Walton's Polyglott, he conferred what he had already done with the ancient Versions in that work, and greatly increased his notes and observations; and that the fire in his house in 1709 destroyed all his property, not a leaf, either of his Polyglott or his Collections on Job, escaping the flames.

2. Having procured another Polyglott, he read over the Hebrew text again and again, diligently compared the Alexandrian and Vatican editions of the Septuagint with all the fragments of Origen's Hexapla, collated all the variations in the Chaldee, Arabic, and Syriac texts, with the principal critics, as exhibited in Pool's Synopsis; but not understanding the Arabic and Syriac, he was obliged to trust to their Latin Versions in the Polyglott. He compared also Tindal's and the Bishops' Bible, of which he says, Qua licet non prorsus infallibili, perfectiorem in ulla lingua me visurum non spero; "which, although not altogether infallible, anything more perfect in any language I never expect to see."

3. Having gone through all this previous labour, he then consulted all the commentators within his reach, principally relying on what he had been able to acquire from the above collation of the original text, and ancient Versions in the Polyglott.

4. As he did not design to write a commentary on the book, he wrote down the titles of subjects on which he designed to write dissertations for the general elucidation of the book.

5. He then relates the assistance he had from books; and mentions with peculiar gratitude and respect the help he received from the library of Lord Milton;

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without whose kindness, hospitality, and munificence, the work, he says, would have come into the world mutilated, or perished as an abortion.

6. The authors he consulted were principally Pliny, Bunting's Travels of the Patriarchs, Salmasius, Mercator, Jerome, Eusebius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Luitsius, Sanson, Purchas, Hakluyt, De la Valle, and Peutinger's Tables, for the geographical part. Bochart, worth all the rest put together, he had, he says, only for a few days. Calmet, Pineda, Spanheim, Dr. Hyde, Bishop Cumberland, Greaves, Sandys, &c., gave him help in the same line.

7. For the chronology, he consulted Usher, Lloyd, Marshal, Ptolemy, Cellarius, Reyland, and Maundrell.

8. Mr. Romley, teacher of the Wroot Charity School; Maurice Johnson, Esq., founder of the Gentleman's Society at Spalding; and his three sons, Samuel, John, and Charles, were those from whom he had his principal assistance. Samuel corrected the press; and he and his brothers did every thing in the work that dutiful sons should do for an aged and most respectable parent.

In the history of the Spalding Society, contained in the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. iii., it is said, Mr. Maurice Johnson read to the society, in 1730, a dissertation in Latin, drawn up by him, at the instance of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, in 1727, entitled, "Jurisprudentia Jobi;" with critical notes and drawings of the Διφρος, or *seat* from whence Job administered justice, Job xxix. 7 (LXX): "When I prepared my *seat* in the street." The dissertation on this article is very short in Mr. Wesley's book, page 258—260; perhaps an abridgment of Mr. Johnson's, whose assistance is acknowledged in the preface.

9. By close application to this work for many years,

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he greatly impaired his health, and brought on himself both gout and palsy. He died the year before it was finished, and his son Samuel completed and edited the work.

10. In this work there are a good many engravings by Vertue, Seale, and Cole; and there are several plates anonymous. Of the engravings in general, Mr. Badcock says, "They seem to be the first rude efforts of an untutored boy; nothing can be conceived more execrable." We must except from this censure the head by Vertue, which is really fine. The crocodile, hippopotamus, and war-horse, by Cole, are tolerable. The rest are very indifferent; and the anonymous, which were the work of Mr. John Whitelamb, his amanuensis and pupil for several years, whom, as has been observed, he sent to the university, and who afterwards married his daughter Mary, are among the worst that ever saw the sun. Mr. Badcock guessed right, that they were the first rude efforts of an untutored boy.

The frontispiece by Vertue is well imagined, and well done; except the arch and portcullis in the ancient gate, under which Mr. Wesley, in the character of Job dispensing justice, is sitting in an ancient chair, with a sceptre in his hand, and two pyramids in the distance. The arch and portcullis most certainly did not exist in the days of Job. Over the top of the gate is written JOB PATRIARCHA; and at the bottom of the leaf are these words upon a label:—

AN. ETAT. CIRCITER LXX.
QUIS MIHI TRIBUAT, UT SCRIBANTUR
SERMONES MEI, UT IN LIBRO EXCULPANTUR.*

* Only three words were inserted, agreeably to the statement of a friend, who refers to the work itself; further remarking, that "a small plate was printed with *both lines*."—EDITOR.

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A correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1785, p. 758, says that this inscription "marks it out as the quaint device of a man in years, who thought himself neglected." I cannot think there was any such design, or that Mr. Wesley thought himself neglected. In no part of his private correspondence have I found even the shadow of such a complaint. He rather spoke of what he had as something, in the way of providence, beyond any thing he had either sought or expected. The words are taken, with a slight alteration, from Job xix. 23, as they stand in the Vulgate :—

Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei?
Quis mihi det ut exarantur in libro?—

O that my words were now written!
O that they were written in a book!

Of this work there were 500 copies printed, as stated in a preceding letter; and he had a list of 343 subscribers.*

The most useful part of this volume, and what must have cost the author incredible pains and trouble, is the last part, entitled, Libri Jobi Textus Hebraicus, cum Paraphrasi Chaldaica et Versionibus plurimis collatus—"The Hebrew text of the Book of Job, collated with the Chaldee Paraphrase and numerous Versions."

The following are the Versions :—

The Septuagint, in the Aldine, Grabean, and Bossian editions, and in the Complutensian Polyglott, with the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

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* In the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1736, p. 99, the work is thus advertised: "Dissertationes et Conjecturæ in Librum Jobi; Tabulis et Geographicis et Figuris æneis illustratæ. By S. Westley. Sold by C. Rivington and S. Bort."

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The Chaldee Paraphrase.
The Syriac and Arabic Versions.
The Latin Version of Castellio.
——————— of Arias Montanus.
——————— of St. Ambrose.
——————— of Junius Tremellius.
——————— of Piscator.
——————— of the Zurich divines.
The English Version of Tindal.
The present authorized Version.

Every verse of the whole book has been collated as above, and all the variations set down; and this part of the work occupies no less than 184 folio pages. It is one of the most complete things of the kind I have ever met with; and must be invaluable to any man who may wish to read this book critically.

The work having been dedicated by permission to the queen, Mr. John Wesley was appointed to present it in the name of his deceased father; which he did on Sunday, October 12, 1735. Himself told me, that "when he was introduced into the royal presence, the queen was romping with her maids of honour; but she suspended her play, heard and received him graciously, took the book from his hand, which he presented to her kneeling on one knee, looked at the outside, said, 'It is very prettily bound,' and then laid it down in a window, without opening a leaf. He rose up, bowed, walked backward, and withdrew. The queen bowed and smiled, and spoke several kind words, and immediately resumed her sport."

In a letter from Mr. Badcock, published by Mr. Nichols in his Literary Anecdotes, vol. v., p. 219, and also in the Gentleman's Magazine, mention is made of Mr. John Wesley's presenting the book to Queen Caro-

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line. He says, "Mr. John Wesley, in a letter to his brother Samuel, acknowledges the very courteous reception he was honoured with from her Majesty, who gave him 'bows and smiles, but nothing for his poor father.'"

That this cannot be correct will appear from the following advertisement of Mr. Wesley's death, in vol. v. of the Gentleman's Magazine for 1735, p. 276, which is thus recorded: "Died, April 25, at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wesley, M. A., rector of that parish, a person of singular parts, piety, and learning; author of several poetical and controversial pieces. He had for some years been composing a critical dissertation on the Book of Job, which he has left unfinished, and almost printed. He proved ever since his minority a most zealous assertor of the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England."

Mr. Samuel Wesley thus appears to have died April 25, 1735, and the work in question bears date 1736. It was in this year it was published, and it certainly was not finished when he died; for in the account of his father's death, which Mr. Charles Wesley wrote from Epworth to his brother Samuel, dated April 30, 1735, we find these remarkable words: "The fear of death he had entirely conquered; and at last gave up his latest human desires, of finishing Job, paying his debts, and seeing you." The book could not have been presented before it was finished; there must, therefore, be a mistake in Mr. Badcock's statement, which represents Mr. Samuel Wesley, sen., as alive when his son John presented the book to the queen: "Her Majesty gave him bows and smiles, but nothing for his poor father."

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But Mr. John Wesley's letter to his brother puts the matter beyond dispute. It is dated,

"*Gravesend, on board the Simmonds, Oct.* 15, 1735.

"Dear Brother,

"I presented Job to the queen on Sunday, and had many good words and smiles. Out of what is due to me on that account, I beg you first pay yourself what I owe you; and if I live till spring, I can then direct what I would have done with the remainder."

Here is the whole that Mr. J. Wesley says on the subject. And thus we see the book was not presented till more than six months after Mr. Samuel Wesley's death. Mr. J. Wesley embarked on Tuesday, the 14th. The book was presented on Sunday, the 12th.

On returning to the personal narrative of the rector of Epworth, we shall find, by referring to his correspondence, a few of the subjects which occupied his attention, and exercised his feelings, during the few last months of his life. James Oglethorpe, Esq., has been noticed; and his further letters to that gentleman will show the deep interest he took in the prosperity of Georgia.* But previously to the introduction of these, the following letter may be noticed, as expressive of his concern for the spiritual welfare of his friends.

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* It is remarkable that none of Mr. Wesley's biographers have adverted to the friendship subsisting between Mr. Samuel Wesley and Mr. Oglethorpe, as one of those links in the chain of cause and effect, which led to the selection of Mr. John Wesley for the mission in Georgia; and more especially, as the appointment of the latter followed so soon after the date of the correspondence.—EDITOR.

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"*Epworth, near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, July* 11, 1734.

"Dear Friend,

"Though I have not been worthy to hear from you, or to have seen any letter of yours since I saw you last, yet I cannot but retain the same warmth of Christian affection for you which I conceived at our first sight and acquaintance, as I believe you did the like for me and mine. Your friend of Queen's, whom we call Nathaniel, and who brought us the last good news of your health, is gone to his relations in Yorkshire, but promises to return and meet you here, when you and your friends come down to see us at our fair in August next. If Charles is short of money, pray tell him he is welcome to twenty shillings here, to make him easier in his journey. But I think I can tell you of what will please you more; for last Sunday, at the sacrament, it was darted into my mind, that it was a pity you and your company, while you are here, should be deprived of the benefit of weekly sacraments, which you enjoy where you are at present, and therefore resolved, if you desire it, while you are here, to have the communion every Sunday; and lest some of the parish should grumble at it, the offerings of us who communicate will defray the small expense of it; and if there be anything else which you can desire, that would be more acceptable to you while you are here (though I am sure there cannot), and which is in my power to grant or procure, you are hereby already assured of it. If I could write anything kinder, my dear friend, I would; and I shall see by your acceptance of it, and compliance with it, whether you believe me,

"Your sincere friend,

"and half namesake,

"SAMUEL WESLEY."

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As in the preceding letter it will be found that he contemplated the religious prosperity of his friends at home, so the following will show he was not less anxious for the happiness of persons abroad.

To James Oglethorpe, Esq.

Epworth, near Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, Nov. 7, 1734.

"Honoured Sir,

"I am at length, I thank God, slowly recovering from a long illness, during which there have been few days or nights but my heart has been working hard for Georgia, and for my townsman, John Lyndal. It is in answer to the favour of yours, and of his last, that I write these to both. I am extremely concerned lest an inundation of rum should break in upon your colony, and destroy that, as it has almost done some others. But I have some better hopes, because I hear you do not design to plant it with canes, but with some more innocent, and I hope as profitable, produce; any of which, whether mulberries or saffron, I should be glad to hear were yet begun in Georgia. I confess I cannot expect God's blessing, even on the greatest industry, without true piety, and the fear of God. I had always so dear a love for your colony, that if it had but been ten years ago, I would gladly have devoted the remainder of my life and labours to that place, and think I might before this time have conquered the language, without which little can be done among the natives, if the Bishop of London would have done me the honour to have sent me thither, as perhaps he then might: but that is now over. However, I can still reach them with my prayers, which I am sure will never be wanting.

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My letter to Mr. Lyndal relates to his own particular affairs here in the country; for, though his effects are not large, they ought by no means to be neglected, and I have given him the best advice that I am able; but if your wisdom should think otherwise, I desire the letter may be sunk, or else go forward to him by the next opportunity. With all the thanks I am capable of, I remember your goodness to my son, formerly at Westminster, to myself, and to my parishioner Lyndal; and am, with the truest respect and gratitude,

"Your Honour's
"most obliged,
"and most humble servant,
"SAMUEL WESLEY, Sen."

"*Epworth, near Gainsborough, Nov.* 7, 1734.

"Mr. Lyndal,

"I have not been a little concerned for the unsettledness of your affairs at Wroot, and in this country, which it is likely might have been in some confusion if I had dropped, as I lately narrowly escaped two dangerous sicknesses. Indeed, what little concerns of yours I had in my hands, being somewhat above 10*l.*, the remainder of the brief money, I have taken what care of them I could; and think the best and honestest way you could do would be to pay that money, as far as it will go, towards the interest of what your father had taken up upon his estate, while he was living. Mr. Epworth has been with me several times from his mother. The last time he came, he brought me a letter from her, wherein she says, there was a bond of 10*l.*, and a note of 20*l.*, as I remember, due to Mr. Epworth's father. She desired that you would pay off the 10*l.* with interest, and they would stay for the 20*l.*

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I told him that could not be done, because there was so little money amongst us all; and therefore I thought the fairest and wisest way was to divide the money I had in my hand, to pay the interest proportionally, as far as it would go, for then it would, at least, sink some of it.

As for your estate, which is in the tenure of Robert Brumby, I suppose about 5*l.* or 6*l.* a-year, I cannot think it at all advisable to put him under such a temptation as to leave it entirely in his disposal, but think it would be much better for you to fix two or three trustees, and make him yearly accountable to them. If you like it, I will be one of them myself, as long as I live; my son Whitelamb would be another; and we think we could persuade Mr. Romley, the schoolmaster, to be the third, who so well understands the whole matter.

And now I have some little inquiries to make of your new country? Whether there is any of our ministers understands their language, and can preach to them without an interpreter? Whether they speak the same language with those Indians who are near them, of Saltzburg and Carolina; or of those of New England, who, I know, have the Bible translated into their language? Whether your Indians have the Lord's Prayer in their own language? which if they have, I desire you would send me a copy of it in your next. In all which, especially in loving God and your neighbour, you would exceedingly oblige

"Your sincere friend,

"SAMUEL WESLEY, Sen."

"P. S. I have just now sent for your uncle, John Barrow, and find your father owed him 4*l.* 10*s.*, borrowed money, and Goody Stephenson, of our town (left

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her by her sister, of Wroot), 5*l.* John Barrow is willing to take it when you can pay him, without interest; and so should Stephenson too, but only she is poor; and therefore, I'll give her 5*s.* on your account, if you think fit. Let me hear from you as soon as you can, after the receipt of this."

To Mr. Oglethorpe.

"*Epworth, Dec.* 7, 1734.

"Dear Sir,

"I cannot express how much I am obliged by your last kind and instructive letter concerning the affairs of Georgia. I could not read it over without sighing (though I have read it several times), when I again reflected on my own age and infirmities, which made such an expedition utterly impracticable for me. Yet, my mind worked hard about it; and it is not impossible but Providence may have directed me to such an expedient as may prove more serviceable to your colony than I should ever have been.

"The thing is thus:—There is a young man who has been with me a pretty many years, and assisted me in my work of Job; after which, I sent him to Oxford, to my son, John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, who took care of his education, where he behaved himself very well, and improved in piety and learning. Then I sent for him down, having got him into deacon's orders, and he was my curate in my absence in London; when I resigned my small living of Wroot to him, and he was instituted and inducted there. I likewise consented to his marrying one of my daughters, there having been a long and intimate friendship between them. But neither he nor I were so happy as to have them live long to

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gether; for she died in child-bed of her first child. He was so inconsolable at her loss, that I was afraid he would soon have followed her; to prevent which, I desired his company here at my own house, that he might have some amusement and business, by assisting me in my cure during my illness. It was then, Sir, I just received the favour of yours, and let him see it for his diversion; more especially, because John Lyndal and he had been fellow-parishioners and school-fellows, at Wroot, and had no little kindness one for the other. I made no great reflection on the thing at first; but soon after, when I found he had thought often upon it, was very desirous to go to Georgia himself, and wrote the inclosed letter to me on the subject, and I knew not of any person more proper for such an undertaking, I thought the least I could do was to send the letter to your Honour, who would be so very proper a judge of the affair: and if you approve, I shall not be wanting in my addresses to my Lord Bishop of London, or any other, since I expect to be in London myself at spring, to forward the matter, as far as it will go.

"As for his character, I shall take it upon myself, that he is a good scholar, a sound Christian, and a good liver. He has a very happy memory, especially for languages, and a judgment and intelligence not inferior. My eldest son at Tiverton has some knowledge of him, concerning whom I have writ to him since your last to me. My two others, his tutor at Lincoln, and my third of Christ-church, have been long and intimately acquainted with him; and I doubt not but they will give him, at least, as just a character as I have done. And here I shall rest the matter, till I have the honour of hearing again from you; and shall either drop it, or pro-

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secute it, as appears most proper to your maturer judgment; ever remaining,

"Your Honour's
"most sincere and most obliged
"friend and servant,
"SAMUEL WESLEY."

The following letter is more varied as well as more painful in its character than the preceding.

To son Sam, at Tiverton.

"*Epworth*, *Dec.* 4, 1734.

"Dear Son,

"Having a pretty many things to write to you, and those of no small moment; and being for the most part confined to my house by pain and weakness, so that I have not yet ventured to church on a Sunday; I have just now sat down to try if I can reduce my thoughts into any tolerable order; though I can write but few lines in a day, which, yet being under my own hand, may not be the less acceptable to you.

"I shall throw what I have a mind you should know, under three heads.

"1. What most immediately concerns our own family. 2. Dick Ellison, the wen of my family, and his poor insects that are sucking me to death. 3. J. Whitelamb;—and, perhaps, in postscript, a little of my own personal affairs; and of the poor.

"1. Of our family—where, if I see anything, all Job is at stake, for your brother John has at last writ me, 'That it is now his unalterable resolution not to accept of Epworth living, if he could have it;' and the reason he gives for it is in these words: 'The question is not

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whether I could do more good to others *there* or *here*' (though I am apt to think that is the very pinch of the question to every good man; for, indeed, what he adds is the same in effect, and I can make no more than an identical proposition of it, which differs not in sense from the former; for thus he goes on with it), 'but whether I could do more good to myself; seeing wherever I can be most holy myself, there, I am assured, I can most promote holiness in others. But I am equally assured, there is no place under heaven so fit for my improvement as Oxford. Therefore,' &c.

"Thus stands his argument, the whole of which seems to me to be existical, as his manner is, following that great man's words too close, as he did the sophists, though not to his honour; for this way was much better calculated to silence an adversary, and to puzzle and perplex a cause, than to instruct or convince others; as is now generally owned of his argument from reminiscence, and many more, cast in the same or the like mould with it. Yet, though I am no more fond of this griping and wrangling distemper than I am of Mr. Harpur's boluses and clysters (for age would again have rest), I sat myself down to try if I could unravel his sophisms, and hardly one of his assertions appeared to me to be universally true. I think the main of my answer was, that he seemed to mistake the end of academical studies, which were chiefly preparatory, in order to qualify men to instruct others. He thinks there is no place so fit for his improvement as Oxford. As to many sorts of useful knowledge, it may be nearly true; but surely there needs be a knowledge, too, of men and things (which have not been thought the most attainable in a cloister), as well as of books, or else we shall

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find ourselves of much less use in the world. And I am not assured that there is not a *ne plus ultra*, as to parts and useful knowledge, in particular men; as I am too sure there is in the strength of the body; and that and the strength of the mind depend very much on one another. But the best and greatest improvement is in solid piety and religion, and which is handy to be got, or promoted, by being hung up in Socrates' basket. Besides, be austerity and mortification either a means of promoting holiness, or in some degree a part of it; yet, why may not a man exercise these in his own house as strictly as in any college, in any university in Europe; and, perhaps, with less censure and observation? Neither can I understand the meaning or drift of being thus ever learning, and never coming to a due proficiency in the knowledge and practice of the truth, so as to be able commendably to instruct others in it.

"Thus far I have written with my own hand in the original, both to you and your brother, for many days together; but am now so heartily tired, that I must, contrary to my resolution above, get my son Whitelamb to transcribe and finish it. I have done what I could with such a shattered head and body, to satisfy the scruples which your brother has raised against my proposal, from conscience and duty: but if your way of thinking be the same with mine, especially after you have read and weighed what follows, you will be able to convince him in a much clearer and stronger manner; though, if you are not satisfied yourself of his obligation to take it, if it may be procured, I cannot expect you should satisfy him. The remaining considerations I offered to him on that head, were for the most part such as follow:—I urged to him among other things, the great precariousness of my own health, and sensible decay of my strength,

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so that he would hardly know me if he saw me now, which will not admit of a long time for consultation. The deplorable state in which I should leave your mother and the family, without an almost miraculous interposition of Providence, which we are not to presume upon, when we neglect the means, if my offer should be rejected till it were too late. The loss of near forty years' (I hope honest) labour in this place, where I could expect no other, but that the field which I have been so long sowing with (I trust) good seed, and the vineyard which I have planted with no ignoble vine, must be soon rooted up, and the fences of it broken down; for I think I know my successor, who, I am morally satisfied, would be no other than Mr. P., if your brothers both slight it; and I shall have work enough, if my life should last so long, to accomplish it; and, behold, there seems to be a price now put into their hands, or, at least, some probability of it. If they go on to reject it, I hope I am clear before God and man, as to that whole affair. I hinted at one thing, which I mentioned in my letter to your brother, whereon I depend more than upon all my own simple reasoning; and that is, earnest prayer to Him who smiles at the strongest resolutions of mortals, and can, in a moment, change or demolish them; who alone can bend the inflexible sinew, and order the irregular wills of us sinful men to his own glory, and to our happiness; and, while the anchor holds, I despair of nothing, but firmly believe, that he who is best will do what is best, whether we earnestly will it, or appear never so averse from it; and there I rest the whole matter, and leave it with him, to whom I have committed all my concerns, without exception and without reserve, for soul and body, estate and family, time and eternity.

2. As to the second part of my letter, concerning R.

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Ellison, I have at least as little hope in the prospect of it, as I have in the former, though I have charity crammed down my throat every day, and sometimes his company at meals, which you will believe as pleasant to me as all my physic. That is beyond the reach of all my little prudence; and therefore, I find I must leave it, as I have done, in some good measure before, to him who orders all things.

The third part of my letter, which is of almost as great concern as the former, and on some accounts perhaps greater, is in relation to my son Whitelamb. The whole affair whereof you will find contained in a letter I lately sent to Mr. Oglethorpe, and in my son Whitelamb's to myself, which I sent inclosed a post or two since, to the same gentleman, who desired me in his last to give his respects to you at Tiverton, when I wrote next to you; which letters are so full, that they have exhausted what we had to say on that subject; and nothing at present need or can be added. I desire you therefore to weigh the whole with the utmost impartiality; and if you are of the same mind with myself and your mother, who entirely approves of the design, that you would yourself write to Mr. Oglethorpe, as I promised you would, and send him your thoughts, and use your good offices about it.

And now, as to my own minute affairs, I doubt not but you will, as you gave me hopes when you went into Devon, improve your interest among the gentlemen, your friends, and get me some more subscribers, as likewise an account whether there be any prospect yet remaining of obtaining any favour from the Duke of (I think) Newcastle, in relation to the affair.

"Yours,

"S. W."

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We have already seen that the infirmities of Mr. Samuel Wesley were greatly increased by his labours on the Book of Job; from which his advanced age forbade any hopes of recovery. Mrs. Wesley, in a letter to her son John, says, "Your father is in a very bad state of health; he sleeps little, and eats less. He seems not to have any apprehension of his approaching exit; but I fear he has but a short time to live. It is with much pain and difficulty that he performs divine service on the Lord's-day, which sometimes he is obliged to contract very much. Every body observes his decay but himself." He acted on the maxim, "Rather wear out than rust out;" and he sank, fairly worn out with labours, old age, and infirmities, April 25, 1735, in the 72nd year of his age.

His two sons, John and Charles, were present at his death. The former gives the following brief account of it in a letter dated, Dublin, March 22, 1747: "My father, during his last illness, which continued eight months, enjoyed a clear sense of his acceptance with God. I heard him express it more than once. 'The inward witness, son, the inward witness,' said he to me, 'that is the proof, the strongest proof, of Christianity.' And when I asked him (the time of his change drawing nigh), 'Sir, are you in much pain?" he answered aloud, with a smile, 'God does chasten me with pain; yea, all my bones with strong pain. But I thank him for all; I bless him for all; I love him for all." I think the last words he spoke, when I had just commended his soul to God, were, 'Now you have done all.' And with the same cheerful countenance he fell asleep, without one struggle, or sigh, or groan."

In a sermon preached at Savannah, Feb. 20, 1736, Mr. John Wesley further adds, in giving an account of

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two persons "going out of this life, in what I call (says he) a comfortable manner;" the one, referring to the death of his father in England, the other to one at Savannah: "I attended the first," says he, "during a great part of his last trial, as well as when he yielded up his soul to God. He cried out, 'God doth chasten me with strong pain; but I thank him for all; I bless him for all; I love him for all.' When asked, not long before his release, 'Are the consolations of God small with you?' he replied aloud, 'No, no, no!' Calling all that were near him by their names, he said, 'Think of heaven, talk of heaven; all the time is lost when we are not thinking of heaven.' Now this was the voice of love. And so far as it prevailed, all was comfort, peace, and joy. But as his love was not perfect, so neither was his comfort. He had intervals of fretfulness, and therein of misery; giving by both an incontestable proof that love can sweeten both life and death." —*Wesley's Works*, vol. xi., p. 130.

Mr. Charles Wesley's account, however, in a letter to his brother Samuel, is the most circumstantial; and is as follows:—

"*Epworth, April 30th*, 1735.

"Dear Brother,

"After all your desire of seeing my father alive, you are at last assured you must see his face no more, till raised in incorruption. You have reason to envy us, who could attend him in the last stage of his illness. The few words he uttered I have saved. Some of them were, 'Nothing too much to suffer for heaven. The weaker I am in body, the stronger and more sensible support I feel from God. There is but a step between me and death. To-morrow I would see you all with me round this table, that we may once more drink of

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the cup of blessing, before we drink of it new in the kingdom of God. With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I die.'

"The morning he was to communicate, he was so exceeding weak and full of pain, that he could not without the utmost difficulty receive the elements, often repeating, 'Thou shakest me! thou shakest me!' But immediately after receiving, there followed the most visible alteration. He appeared full of faith and peace, which extended even to his body; for he was so much better, that we almost hoped he would have recovered. The fear of death he had entirely conquered; and at last gave up his latest human desires, of finishing Job paying his debts, and seeing you. He often laid his hands upon my head, and said, 'Be steady. The Christian faith will surely revive in this kingdom; you shall see it, though I shall not.' To my sister Emily he said, 'Do not be concerned at my death; God will then begin to manifest himself to my family.' When we were met about him, his usual expression was, 'Now let me hear you talk about heaven.' On my asking him, whether he did not find himself worse, he replied, 'O my Charles, I feel a great deal. God chastens me with strong pain; but I praise him for it; I thank him for it; I love him for it.' On the 25th his voice failed him, and nature seemed entirely spent; when on my brother's asking, 'whether he was not near heaven?' he answered distinctly, and with the most of hope and triumph that could be expressed in sounds, 'Yes, I am.' He spoke once more, just after my brother had used the commendatory prayer. His last words were, 'Now you have done all.' This was about half an hour after six; from which time till sun-set he made signs of offering up himself, till my brother having again used the prayer, the very moment it was finished he expired.

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"His passage was so smooth and insensible, that, notwithstanding the stopping of his pulse, and ceasing of all sign of life and motion, we continued over him a good while, in doubt whether the soul was departed or no. My mother, who, for several days before he died, hardly ever went into his chamber but she was carried out again in a fit, was far less shocked at the news than we expected; and told us that 'now she was heard, in his having so easy a death, and her being strengthened so to bear it.'

"Though you have lost your chief reason for coming, yet there are others which make your presence more necessary than ever. My mother would be exceedingly glad to see you as soon as can be.

"We have computed the debts, and find they amount to above £100, exclusive of cousin Richardson's. Mrs. Knight, her landlady, seized all her quick stock, valued at above £40, for £15 my father owed her, on Monday last, the day he was buried.* And my brother this afternoon gives a note for the money, in order to get the stock at liberty to sell, for security of which he has the stock made over to him, and will be paid as it can be sold. My father was buried very frugally, yet decently, in the church-yard, according to his own desire.

"It will be highly necessary to bring all accounts of what he owed you, that you may mark all the goods in the house as principal creditor, and thereby secure to my mother time and liberty to sell them to the best advantage. *Chartas omnes, et epistolas præcipuas opposita cera in adventum tuum reservo.* [All papers and letters

* It appears from the register of burials belonging to Epworth church, that he was buried on the 28th of April, three days after his death.—EDITOR.

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of importance I have sealed up, and keep till you come.]

"Kezzy and Mr. H. have parted for ever. Your advice in her's, and in many other cases, will be absolutely necessary. If you take London in your way, my mother desires you will remember that she is a clergyman's widow. Let the society give her what they please, she must be still in some degree burdensome to you, as she calls it. How do I envy you that glorious burden, and wish I could share it with you! You must put me in some way of getting a little money, that I may do something in this shipwreck of the family, though it be no more than furnishing a plank.

"I should be ashamed of having so much business in my letter, were it not necessary. I would choose to write and think of nothing but my father. 'Ere we meet, I hope you will have finished his elegy.*

"I am

"Your affectionate brother,

"CHARLES WESLEY."

"To the Rev. Mr. Wesley,
at Tiverton, Devon."

I believe Mr. Samuel had not only a high esteem, but also an ardent affection, for his father; and therefore to be deprived of the opportunity of witnessing his closing scene must have been to him the cause of deep affliction and regret. When Mr. Charles states in the above letter that his father gave up his last human hopes, of seeing his son Samuel, finishing his Dissertations on Job, and paying his debts, the sympathetic reader will anxiously inquire—what were these debts? They were small; and more property was left than was necessary to cover

* See the succeeding pages for the "Elegy" referred to.

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them all. For on examination, Mr. Charles tells us, they were found to amount only to a little more than one hundred pounds, independently of some pecuniary obligations to some parts of his own family! Such a debt, when enough was left to pay it, need not have occupied, in any serious way, his last moments.

His death may be found recorded not only in the Gentleman's Magazine, as already noticed, but also in the London Magazine, and Political Events, of the same year; in both of which he is designated, "the Rev. and Learned Samuel Wesley;" thus confirming the epithet which Pope applied to him. A correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1818, p. 601, thus speaks of him: "Mr. Samuel Wesley was a man of considerable learning and great ingenuity. His paraphrase of the Book of Job incontestably proves the extent and depth of his erudition. His poetry, indeed, is not generally admired; yet there is one performance which abundantly compensated for all those in which he failed—his translation of Eupolis's Hymn to the Creator." This hymn has already passed in review.

We have seen, in the letter of Mrs. Wesley to her son John, giving an account of Mr. Wesley's dangerous fall (see p. 309), that in 1731 they had rented a piece of ground from a Mrs. Knight, at Low Millwood. It is very probable that Mr. Wesley held this ground till he died; for we find, in a part of the preceding letter, that £15 were owing to this Mrs. Knight at the time of his interment. This inhuman woman, who appears to have been a widow herself, took advantage of the family distress; and not having the fear of God before her eyes, and instigated thereto by the malice of the devil, seized the whole of poor Mr. Wesley's cattle on the same day, without giving one hour's grace for the payment! A more unfeeling, a more abominable, a more inhuman act,

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I never heard of. I record this action, that I may hand down the name of this Mrs. Knight, and all such unpiteous and cruel characters, with deserved infamy, while my page shall last:

"And time their blacker name shall blurr with blackest ink."

In a periodical publication, for its matter and spirit below criticism, inflammatory and contemptible, this act of justice against this cruel woman's conduct has been severely censured. It does not appear that the writer of the article thought the conduct of this woman very reprehensible, and in similar circumstances would have acted a similar part. "My soul, come not thou into their secret: my honour, be not thou united unto them."

Mr. Wesley lies buried in Epworth church-yard, under a plain grit tomb-stone, supported by brick-work; on which is engraved the following inscription. I give it line for line with the original.

Here
Lyeth all that was
Mortal of SAMUEL WESLEY,
A. M. He was rector of EPWORTH 39 years and departed
this Life 25 of April 1735
Aged 72.
As he liv'd so he died,
in the true Catholick Faith
of the Holy Trinity in Unity,
And that JESUS CHRIST is God
incarnate: and the only
Saviour of Mankind,
Acts iv. 12.
Blessed are the dead
Which die in the Lord, yea
saith the Spirit that they may
rest from their Labours and
their works do follow them.
Rev. xiv. 13.

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This was the original inscription, cut in the manner above represented; under whose direction and management I cannot tell. Becoming nearly obliterated, the brick-work was repaired in the year 1819, the stone turned and recut, with the same inscription; only the lines do not all end in the same way as above, but with equal absurdity and unskilfulness in the division.

The whole is utterly unworthy of the man, the Christian, and the minister; and as the family is now nearly extinct, it is hoped that the Methodist body will erect a decent monument for the father of John Wesley, their founder, that may serve to perpetuate the memory of his excellence; and their gratitude to God, who from this source raised up the man who has been such a blessing to the British nation, to the isles of the sea, and to the ends of the earth.

It has been supposed that the poem, entitled, "The Parish Priest," written by S. Wesley, jun., was in memory of his father, the rector of Epworth; but there is decisive evidence that Mr. S. Wesley draws in it the character of his father-in-law, the Rev. John Berry, vicar of Wotton, in Norfolk. See in the memoir of Sam. Wesley, jun., where the poem is inserted, and the evidence adduced. The poem really addressed to his own father is the following, which should not be passed by:—

UPON MY FATHER.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL WESLEY.

Arise, my song! with utmost vigour rise,
And bear a long-tried virtue to the skies.
Ere yet his soul, released from mouldering clay,
Springs from the slighted earth, and wings away,
Essay thy strength; let praise salute his ear,—
The only truth he never wished to hear.

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Let but a father read with favouring eyes,
And bless me yet again before he dies;
Paid are the strains! His blessing far outweighs
A courtier's patronage, or critic's praise,
Or a Young's pension, or a Dryden's bays.

With opening life, his early worth began;
The boy misleads not, but foreshows the man.
Directed wrong, though first he missed the way,
Trained to mistake, and disciplined to stray,
Not long, for reason gilded error's night,
And doubts well-founded shot a dawn of light.
Nor prejudice o'erswayed his heart and head:
Resolved to follow Truth where'er she led,
The radiant track audacious to pursue,
From fame, from interest, and from friends he flew.
Those shocked him first who laughed at human sway,
Who preach, "Because commanded, disobey,"
Who law's and gospel's bonds in sunder rend,
And blush not Bradshaw's saintship to defend.
Alike the crown and mitre who foreswore,
And scoffed profanely at the martyr's gore,
Though not in vain the sacred current flowed,
Which gave this champion to the church of God.

No worldly views the real convert call;
He sought God's altar when it seemed to fall;
To Oxford hasted, even in dangerous days,
When royal anger struck the fated place;
When senseless policy was pleased to view
With favor, all religions but the true.
When a *king's hand stretched out* amazed they saw,
And troops were ordered to supply the law;
Then luckless James possessed the British throne,
And for the papal grandeur risked his own;
Enraged at all who dared his schemes oppose,
Stern to his friends, but ductile to his foes.
Then Jesuits wild our church's fall combined
Till Rome, to save her, with Geneva joined.
Lo! Orange sails, the prudent and the brave,
Our fears to scatter, and our rights to save.

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This Briton's* pen first pleaded William's cause,
And pleaded strongly for our faith and laws.

Nor yet unmentioned shall in silence lie
His slighted and derided poetry.
Should Brown† revile, or Swift my song despise,
Should other Garths, and other legions rise:
Whate'er his strains, still glorious was his end,
Faith to assert, and virtue to defend.
He sung how God the Saviour deigned t' expire,
With Vida's piety, though not his fire.
Deduced his Maker's praise from age to age,
Through the long annals of the sacred page;
Not cursed like syren Dryden to excel,
Who strewed with flowerets fair the way to hell;
With atheist doctrines, loosest morals joined,
To rot the body, and to damn the mind:
All faith he scoffed, all virtue bounded o'er,
And thought the world well bartered for a whore;
Sworn foe to good, still pleading Satan's cause,
He crowned the devil's martyrs with applause.
No Christian e'er would wish that dangerous height:
" Nor would I write like him; like him to write,
" If there's hereafter, and a last Great Day,
" What fire's enough to purge his stains away?
" How will he wish each lewd applauded line,
" That makes vice pleasing, and damnation shine,
" Had been as dull as honest Quarles', or mine!"
So chaunts the bard his unapplauded lays,
While Dunton's prose a golden medal‡ pays,
And Cibber's forehead wears the regal bays.
Though not inglorious was the poet's fate,
Liked and rewarded by the good and great;
For gracious smiles not pious Anne denied,
And beauteous Mary blessed him when she died.

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* See p. 329.

† Censures of New Testament in Verse.

‡ On the accession of George I., Dunton was presented with a gold medal, by order of his Majesty, in consequence of some

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From some family papers, I learn that Mr. Samuel Wesley was of a short stature; of a spare, but athletic make; and, from what I can collect, nearly resembling in person his son John. This is further confirmed by Palmer, who, in his controversy, says: "The Great Salmasius trembled before Milton;" to which Mr. Wesley replies, "As much, I suppose, as *little Wesley* before his nameless adversary." See *Palmer's Defence*, p. 18; *Wesley's Defence*, p. 54. It is very likely that the picture engraved by Vertue, and prefixed to his Dissertations on the Book of Job, was a correct resemblance; the hands, however, are out of all proportion to the rest of the picture.

His spirit and temper may be seen in his writings, and in the preceding account. I have taken pains also to inquire upon the spot, concerning this man and his communications, and have had the highest character of his moral worth and pastoral diligence.

He was earnest, conscientious, and indefatigable in his search after truth. He thought deeply on every subject which was either to form an article in his creed, or a principle for his conduct. And having formed these, he boldly maintained them; conscious of his own integrity, and zealous for what he conceived to be the orthodox faith. His orthodoxy was pure and solid; his religious conduct strictly correct in all respects; his piety

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political tracts which he wrote. Of these, the best was "Neck or Nothing," which passed through ten editions, and which is highly commended by Swift. Dunton was mortified when his appeal for a pension was disregarded; and, by way of revenge, published a "Narrative, entitled, Mordecai's Memorial; or, there's nothing done for him; and proving, it is now a national complaint, that the author of 'Neck or Nothing' has gone nine years unrewarded for his distinguished services to his king and country."

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towards God ardent; his loyalty to his king unsullied; and his love to his fellow-creatures strong and unconfined. Though of high-church principles, and high-church politics, yet he could separate the *man* from the *opinions* he held, and the party he had espoused; and when he found him in distress, knew him only as a friend and brother. He was a rigid disciplinarian both in his church and his family. He knew all his parishioners; and he knew them as the flock over which he believed the Holy Spirit had made him an overseer; and for whom he must give account to the Great Bishop and Shepherd of souls. He visited his parishioners from house to house; he sifted their creed, and permitted none to be corrupt in their opinions or in their practices, without instruction or reproof.

These things have been attested to me by aged respectable inhabitants of Epworth; to whom the memory of the man and the pastor is still dear.

This is supported by Mr. John Wesley, in a letter to a gentleman who desired he would send him an account of what Mr. Samuel Wesley called his *Notitia Parochialis;* to whom he replies, dating his letter from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nov. 16, 1742: "My father's method was to visit all his parishioners, sick or well, from house to house, to talk with each of them on the things of God, and observe severally the state of their souls. What he then observed, he minuted down in a book kept for that purpose. In this manner he went through his parish (which was near three miles long), three times. He was visiting it the fourth time round, when he fell into his last sickness."

His family he kept in the strictest order; and though authoritative in all his deportment towards them, yet he was ever sufficiently tender; so that he had entirely secured their affection and respect. It is pleasing to

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behold this in all the letters that passed between him and his children. Had not his authority and parental tenderness been duly attempered, his children would have either feared him as their judge, or treated him as their play-fellow. I have often seen great evils produced by parents acting on one only of these opposite extremes.

As a controversial writer, he had considerable dexterity in managing an argument, and defending himself. But he sometimes betrays an acrimony of spirit against his opponents; the common fault of polemic divines.

To his judicious method of instructing and managing his family we owe, under God, many of those advantages and blessings, which, as a religious people, we possess; and even on this account, his name among the Methodists should be held in everlasting remembrance.

Mr. Wesley had a large share of vivacity. In his private conversation he was very entertaining and instructive. He had a large fund of anecdote, and a profusion both of witty and wise sayings, which he knew well how to apply for the instruction or correction of those who were favoured with his company.

The extempore lines spoken by him at the house of an eccentric and covetous man, at Temple Belwood, near Epworth, who had acted contrary to the whole tenor of his life, in giving a dinner to Mr. W. and some other gentlemen, are a proof of his wit, and ready felicity in composition:—

"Behold a miracle! for 'tis no less
Than eating manna in the wilderness.
Here some have starved, where we have found relief,
And seen the wonders of a chine of beef.
Here chimnies smoke, which never smoked before;
And we have dined, where we shall dine no more."*

* A different version of these lines is given in the Gentleman's Mag. 1802; and in Watson's Life of Wesley.—EDITOR.

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It is said, that the gentleman confirmed the closing line, by immediately adding, "No, gentlemen; it is too expensive."

This anecdote is from a gentleman of Gainsborough, whose grandfather was a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Epworth, contemporary with Mr. Wesley, and probably one of the dinner party.

Mr. Wesley had a clerk, a well-meaning, honest, but weak and vain man. He believed the rector, his master, to be the greatest man in the parish—if not in the county; and himself, as he stood next to him in church ministrations, to be next to him in worth and importance. He had the advantage and privilege of wearing out Mr. Wesley's cast off clothes and wigs, for the latter of which his head was by far too small; and the figure he cut in it was most ludicrously grotesque. The rector, finding him particularly vain of one of those canonical substitutes for hair which he had lately received, formed the design to mortify him in the presence of that congregration before which John wished to appear in every respect what he thought himself, in his near approach to his master. One morning, before church time, Mr. W. said, "John, I shall preach on a particular subject to-day; and shall choose my own psalm, of which I shall give out the first line, and you shall proceed as usual." John was pleased; and the service went forward as it was wont to do till they came to the singing, when Mr Wesley gave out the following line,

"Like to an owl in ivy bush"—

This was sung; and the following line, John, peeping out of the large canonical wig in which his head was half lost, gave out, with an audible voice, and appropriate connecting twang—

"That rueful thing am I!"

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The whole congregation, struck with John's appearance, saw and felt the similitude, and could not refrain from laughter.

The rector was pleased; for John was mortified, and his self-conceit lowered.*

This is the same man who, when king William returned to London after some of his expeditions, gave out in Epworth church—"Let us sing, to the praise and glory of God, a hymn of my own composing:—

"King William is come home, come home,
King William home is come;
Therefore let us together sing
The hymn that's called 'Te D'um.'"

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* I have met with three editions of this story:—

1. That the anecdote relates to another person, and to another parish, and was related as such by Mr. S. Wesley, sen., to his family.

2. The story is true, as far as connected with the rector of Epworth and his clerk; but the choice of the psalm was entirely casual. It was chosen by the clerk himself, and not by the rector; and must be considered inconsistent with that gravity and deep reverential decorum with which Mr. S. Wesley conducted every part of divine worship.

3. The third is that which I have related above.

The first is all apocrypha.

The second has the semblance of truth, and is related in this way among the remaining branches of the family; and with the reasons assigned above.

The third, which I believe to be the truth, I had from Mr. John Wesley himself; and, as near as I can possibly recollect, in the very words given above.

A critic, in the Methodist Magazine for 1824, p. 251, takes up the story confidently in the second sense, and questions the propriety of its being introduced at all, as being worthless in itself.

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I may add, that a sycamore-tree, planted by Mr. Wesley in Epworth church-yard, is now (1821) two fathoms in girth, and proportionably large in height, boughs, and branches; but is decaying at the root, where the tree is now becoming hollow: a melancholy emblem of the state of a very eminent family, in which the prophetic office and spirit had flourished for nearly two hundred

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Had I been of this opinion, it would not have been introduced at first; and could I alter my opinion, it would not be continued. I cannot view this simple anecdote in the light which some have done: from all I have learnt of the person in question, it was the only way in which a weak, well-meaning, but vain man, could be cured of a vanity discreditable to himself, and troublesome to others; and I think the means employed were as innocent as they were appropriate and efficient. But it was not in reference to this merely that I introduced the account; it is characteristic of the man, and it is from facts of this nature that the biographer forms a proper estimate of the character he describes. If he avail not himself of such incidents as these, he may plod on, in dry detail of facts, destitute of all enlivening circumstances, which can be but little pleasing to himself, and must be unsatisfactory, if not insupportable, to his readers. The three forms of this story are now before the reader, and he may receive which he pleases: that which I believe to be authentic, I have related as such. As to the petulant* critic in the magazine, he is worthy of little notice. He was unacquainted with the whole business; was misled by report; and should have held his peace.

* "Petulant" is unusually severe, as an epithet on such an occasion, from the pen of Dr. Clarke; but he had a tolerably correct knowledge of the reviewer, who had sought for opportunities to assail him in other instances. To that gentleman the doctor owed nothing, though he had, by way of heaping coals of fire on his head, embraced occasions to serve him; and his private opinion was, as appears from his own correspondence, that the writer had another object in view, besides that of giving an honest critique. "It appeared to me," says he, when referring to the first edition of the 'Wesley Family,' "that the review of it in the Methodist Magazine was designed to disparage it."—EDITOR.

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years,* but now nearly dried up from the earth, and is no more likely to give a messenger to the churches, or a healer to Israel! unless it revive in the fourth generation, in a young gentleman of good promise, *Charles*, grandson of the late Rev. Charles Wesley, who has lately entered into holy orders; and on whom may a double portion of the spirit of his progenitors descend and abide!

I have dwelt the longer upon this life, as no adequate justice has ever yet been done to it, though it is of the utmost consequence in the history of Methodism, for reasons which have doubtless appeared to the reader in its perusal.

The rector of Epworth has been frequently noticed as a biblical critic. His judgment relative to the Greek Version of the Septuagint, and its use in biblical criticism, he has given in a dissertation on that Version; which, as far as I know, is unfortunately lost. Several letters, containing, probably, the substance of it, and which I judge too valuable to be suppressed, will be found in No. 3 Appendix, at the end of these Memoirs.

I have mentioned him also as a conscientious disciplinarian. Of this abundant evidence will be found in

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* Mr. Wesley, in a letter to his brother Charles, dated London, Jan. 15, 1768, remarks: "So far as I can learn, such a thing has scarce been for these thousand years before, as a son, father, grandfather, *atavus*, *tritavus*, preaching the gospel, nay, and the genuine gospel, in a line. You know Mr. White, sometime chairman of the Assembly of Divines, was my grandmother's father."—Works, last edit., vol. xii., p. 125. Query: Is this the Thomas White whose name stands in the petition of the ministers of London to the king, to which Calamy and other eminent men appended their names, in 1662?—EDITOR.

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a curious correspondence, No. 4 Appendix, at the end of the Memoirs.

On the facts and incidents the most implicit confidence may be safely placed, as they are all taken from authentic documents.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY, LL. D., AND HIS CHILDREN.

Dr. Samuel Annesley is too nearly connected with the Wesley family, as being the father of Susanna, wife of the rector of Epworth, to be passed by without notice, in any memoirs of this family.

Dr. Samuel Annesley was born at Haxeley in Warwickshire, in the year 1620. He was descended of a good family; for his father, and the then Earl of Anglesea, were brother's children.* He was the only child of his parents, and had a considerable paternal

* The family of Annesley, or Annesly, or as it is in Domesday Book, Aneslei, is of great antiquity; deriving its name from the wapentake of Oswardebec, or Broxton, in the county of Nottingham, of which the family was possessed before the Conquest; and Richard de Aneslei was proprietor of it in 1086, when the Domesday Survey was taken by command of the Conqueror.

To him succeeded Ralph de Aneslei, called Brito de Bret; who gave to St. Mary, and the house of Felly, in the county of Nottingham, and to the brethren thereof, the domain and sole right of the patronage of the Church of Aneslei, in pure alms for the salvation of himself, his wife, and heirs, and for the relief of his departed friends: which donation was confirmed to the canons by Geoffry, archbishop of York.

I must pass by the splendid marriages and heraldic honours of this family, continued from the Conquest down to the 17th century; and briefly note, that—

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estate. His father dying when he was but four years of age, his education devolved on his pious mother, who brought him up in the fear of the Lord; and as

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Francis Annesley, created Baron Mount Norris, and Viscount Valentia, was Secretary of State and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, in the reign of Charles I.

Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesea, was his eldest son by his first wife, and succeeded his father in his Irish honours. He was distinguished for his loyalty to Charles II., to whom he strictly adhered during his exile, and advanced his interest at the hazard of his life and property; for which, after the Restoration, this Baron Annesley, of Newport Pagnel, and Earl of the Isle of Anglesea, was appointed one of the Commissioners for settling the affairs of Ireland, where he was then Vice-Treasurer and Receiver-General. In 1673, he was made Lord Privy Seal, and one of the Privy council in both kingdoms. He died in 1686, leaving seven sons and six daughters. Dr. Samuel Annesley was brother's son to this first Earl of Anglesea.

The aforesaid Francis Viscount Valentia had by his second wife, who was daughter to Sir John Stanhope, brother to the first Earl of Chesterfield, seven sons and two daughters. Francis, George, and Samuel lived; the other sons died young. George was drowned in the Thames, stepping into a packet-boat with despatches for Charles II. Samuel married, and died without issue. Francis Annesley was attainted by King James's Parliament, for opposing the arbitrary measures of that prince, by raising some horse and foot in the north of Ireland. He married the daughter of the Bishop of Meath, by whom he had Francis his heir, and Arthur and Henry, who died without issue.

Francis was appointed, by act of Parliament of King William, one of the Trustees for the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland; and in the 9th of Queen Anne, one of the Commissioners for Public Accounts. He was elected member of parliament for Preston, in 1705, and for Westbury, in six succeeding parliaments. He was the first promoter in the House of Commons for building fifty new churches in the city of London; and one of the Commissioners for that purpose.

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he was inclined from his earliest youth to the work of the ministry, she took care to procure him a suitable education.

His grandmother, who was a very pious woman, dying before he was born, requested that the child, if a boy,

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He married, first, in 1695, the daughter of Sir John Martin, of London, by whom he had seven sons and two daughters. The eldest son was Francis, LL.D., rector of Winwick, in Lancashire. John, the fourth Earl of Anglesea, was in the Privy Council of Queen Anne. Arthur, his brother, was in three parliaments during her reign, and was one of the privy council to George I.

On the death of the sixth Earl of Anglesea, who was created Lord Altham, and died without issue, the title devolved on Richard Annesley, D. D., Prebend of Westminster, and Dean of Exeter.

Dr. Francis Annesley, rector of Winwick, married the daughter of Robert Gager, of Stoke Paget, Bucks., by the lady Anne, daughter of James, the second earl of Anglesea, his cousin.

Francis Annesley, Esq., D. C. L., Master of Downing College, Cambridge, who sat in six parliaments, and was in 1805 member for Reading, since dead, was a descendant from Dr. Samuel Annesley. He was one of the trustees of the British Museum, representing the family of Sir Robert Cotton.

We see that the family of Annesley was among the most ancient and respectable in the kingdom, and existed previously to the Norman Conquest.

The connexion of the present Wesley family with the Annesleys stands thus:—John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, was son to Samuel and Susanna Wesley. Susanna was daughter to Dr. Samuel Annesley. Dr. Annesley was son to ——— Annesley, who was brother to Arthur, first Earl of Anglesea.

In some of the original letters of Mrs. Wesley, I find that she sealed with the Annesley arms, which are paly of six pieces, argent and azure; a bend gules; crest a blackamore's head sidefaced proper, wreathed about the temples, argent and azure.

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should be called Samuel; for, said she, "I can say, I have asked him of the Lord."* He was piously disposed from his earlier years, and his heart set on being a preacher of the gospel; and to qualify him for that sacred work, he began when he was only five or six years old seriously to read the Bible; and so ardent was he in this study, that he bound himself to read twenty chapters every day, a practice which he continued to the end of his life. This made him a good textuary; and, consequently, an able divine. Though a child when he formed the resolution to be a minister of the gospel, it is said he never varied from his purpose; nor was he discouraged by a singular dream, in which "he thought he was a minister, and was sent for by the Bishop of London to be burnt as a martyr."

When he was fifteen years of age, he went to the university of Oxford, and entered of Queen's College, where he took his degrees at the usual times. While at the university, he was remarkable for temperance

* To this devout act De Foe refers, in his "Character of the late Dr. Samuel Annesley, by way of Elegy:"—

"His parents dedicated him by vow,
To serve the church, and early taught him how.
As Hannah, when she for her Samuel prayed,
The welcome loan with thankfulness repaid;
So they, foreseeing 'twould not be in vain,
Asked him of God, and vowed him back again;
And he again as early did prepare
To list a willing soldier in the sacred war."

See a scarce and "True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman. Corrected by himself. London; printed, and are to be sold by most booksellers in London and Westminster. 1703."—EDITOR.

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and industry; and though he is said to have been but of slow parts, yet he supplied this defect in nature by prodigious application. There is some dispute with regard to his ordination; that is to say, whether he received it from a bishop, or according to the Presbyterian method. Anthony Wood asserts the former, and Dr. Calamy the latter; to decide between them will be difficult without further documentary evidence.

In 1644 he became chaplain of His Majesty's ship Globe, under the command of the Earl of Warwick, then Lord High Admiral, who procured him his diploma of LL.D., having had an honourable certificate of his ordination signed by Mr. Gouge, and six other respectable ministers.

He spent some time in the fleet, and kept a Journal of the voyage, and is very particular as to what passed when the Earl of Warwick went to Holland in pursuit of the ships that had gone over to the prince. But not liking a seafaring life, he left the navy, and settled at Cliff, in Kent, in the place of a minister* who had been sequestered for scandalous conduct, such as attending public meetings of the people for dancing, drinking, and merriment on the Lord's-day. But it was *like pastor like people;* for the inhabitants of the place were so attached to their sinful leader, that when his successor came, they assailed him with spits, forks, and stones, threatening to take away his life. He told them that, "let them use him as they would, he was determined to stay with them till God should fit them by his ministry to profit by one better, who might succeed him; and solemnly declared, that when they became so prepared, he would leave the place."

In a few years his labours had surprising success, so

* Dr. Griffith Higges.—Editor.

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that the people became greatly reformed. However, he kept his word, and left them; lest any seeming inconsistency of his might prove a stumbling-block to his young converts; for though he had 400*l.* per annum there, it was no temptation to him to induce him to break the promise he had made.

In July 1648 he was called to London, to preach the fast sermon before the House of Commons, which, by their order, was printed. But though greatly approved by the parliament, it gave great offence to some other persons, as reflecting upon the king, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. This is the ground of Mr. Wood's bitterness against him; and it cannot be denied, that the author went all the lengths of the Presbyterian party.*

I give an extract from it: "The people are now, as then (viz., under the Jewish theocracy). 'We will have a king.' He hearkens to the people, and sets the king upon his throne; they shout out, *Vivat;* surely they are now happy. He reigns one year well—two years indifferent. What then? You see the scripture veils; I waive it. What he did in the business of Amalek, Gibeon, David, Abimelech; what wars, famine, cruelty, Israel lay under; I would rather you should read than I speak. God give the king a spirit of grace and government! 'Woe unto thee, O land, when thy king is a child,' is rather meant of a child in manners, than in years."—See Nichols's "Arminianism and Calvinism compared," p. 387.

A very signal providence, it is said, directed him to a settlement in London, in 1652, by the unanimous choice of the inhabitants of St. John the Apostle. Soon after, in 1657, through Oliver Cromwell's nomination, he was

* See Biog. Brit., article Annesley

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made lecturer of St. Paul's, and, in 1658, became vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate; two of the largest congregations in the city.

On the 14th of May, 1659, he was appointed, by act of parliament, one of the commissioners for the approbation and admission of ministers of the gospel, after the presbyterian mode; but that act soon vanished upon the restoration of Charles II.—See *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv.

On the restoration, he was confirmed in the vicarage of St. Giles's by the king, who presented the living to him, Aug. 28, 1660. It was at that time worth 700*l.* per annum.*

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* The following pastoral address to the people over whom he was placed, the year after his confirmation, shows the deep concern he felt for their immortal interests:—

To my beloved parishioners of St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

Nov. 14, 1661.

"My dear friends,

"I never yet, that I remember, went through my parish, without some heart-aching yearnings towards my charge, to think how many thousands here are posting to eternity, that within a few years will be in heaven or hell, and I know not so much as to ask them whither they are going. While God continues me your watchman, I shall affectionately desire, and solicitously endeavour, to keep myself pure from the blood of all men; and that, not only for the saving of my own soul, by delivering my message, but that you also may be saved by entertaining it. I can, without boasting, use the apostle's spiritually compassionate expressions: that I greatly long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ; and this I pray, that your love (to truth and holiness) may abound yet more and more in saving knowledge, and in all sound judgment; that you may practically approve things that are excellent; that you may be sincerely gracious, and universally without offence, till

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But this did not screen him from the oppressive operation of the Act of Uniformity, by which he was ejected from this vicarage, in 1662, having been removed from his lectureship at St. Paul's about two years before. It is said the Earl of Anglesea took some pains to persuade him to conform, and offered him preferment in case he complied. But the doctor, from conscience, declined the offer, and continued to preach privately during that and the following reigns. After this he met with many troubles for conscience' sake, and many signal deliverances. God was not pleased with his persecutors. One magistrate, while signing a warrant to apprehend him, dropped down dead! Might not the hand of God have been seen in this? and yet the living laid it not to heart.

Among the nonconformists, Dr. Annesley was particularly and deservedly eminent. He had in effect the care of all those churches; and was the chief, often the sole, instrument in the education and subsistence of several ministers, of whose useful labours the church had otherwise been deprived.

He licensed a meeting-house, on the indulgences in 1672, in Little St. Helen's, now St. Helen's Place, Bishopsgate Street, where he raised a large and flourishing society, of which he continued pastor till his death. It was here, as appears from Calamy's Account of his own

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the day of Christ; and that you may be filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God. These, my beloved, are, and shall be, through grace, the constant desires and restless endeavours of your most affectionate soul-servant,

"SAMUEL ANNESLEY."

—EDITOR.

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Life, that the first public ordination among the dissenters took place after the passing of the Act of Uniformity. Till then, the ordination had been attended to in private; no person being present but those immediately concerned. Mr. Calamy, however, wished to be publicly ordained, and consulted several aged ministers in London respecting its propriety. In this he found considerable difficulty. Mr. Howe refused taking any part in it, through fear of offending government; and Dr. Bates urged other reasons, in order to excuse himself. He was at length ordained, with six other young men, June 22, 1694. Dr. Annesley, Vincent Alsop, Daniel Williams, Thomas Kentish, Matthew Sylvester, and Richard Stretton assisted on the occasion; and the service continued from ten o'clock in the morning till six in the evening.

After the division in Pinner's Hall Lecture, in 1694, and the establishment of a new one at Salter's Hall, Dr. Annesley was one of the ministers chosen to fill up the numbers at the latter, in conjunction with Dr. Bates and Mr. Howe.

Of all gifts, salaries, and income, he always laid aside the tenths for charity, before any part was spent. By this means he had always a fund at hand for charitable uses, besides what he was furnished with by others for the same purposes.

Dunton, speaking of two eminent ministers, says, "I might be large in their character; but when I tell you they are true pictures of Dr. Annesley (whom they count a second St. Paul), it is as high as I need go." In another place, he observes, "The great business of his life was to bring sinners to God. His nonconformity created him many troubles; however, all the difficulties and disappointments he met with from an ungrateful

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world, did never alter the goodness and the cheerfulness of his humour." Elsewhere he remarks, "He had a good estate, but this did not, as in too many instances, narrow his spirit, but made him more charitable. He would scorn to be rich while any man was poor."*

He was the main support of the morning lecture, for which so many have cause to be thankful to God. And after the death of old Mr. Case, of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, who was the first that set up the morning exercises, Dr. Annesley took the care of this institution upon himself.

This morning lecture, or exercise, originated in the following way. Most of the citizens in London having some friend or relation in the army of the Earl of Essex, so many bills were sent up to the pulpit every Lord's day for their preservation, that the ministers had not time to notice them in prayer, or even to read them. It was therefore agreed to set apart an hour every morning at seven o'clock; half of it to be spent in prayer for the welfare of the public, as well as particular cases; and the other half to be spent in exhortations to the people. Mr. Case began it in his church in Milk Street, from which it was removed to other remote churches in

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* De Foe, in his Elegy on Dr. Annesley, has this couplet:

"With such a soul, that, had he mints in store,
He'd ne'er be rich while any man was poor."

It is of no importance whether Dunton or De Foe claim the last thought; the good doctor bears away the credit of the virtue exhibited. De Foe further adds,

"For if to gifts he ever was inclined,
He laid none up, nor left us none behind."

EDITOR.

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rotation, a month at each church. A number of the most eminent ministers conducted this service in turn; and it was attended by great crowds of people. After the heat of the war was over, it became what was called a casuistical lecture, and continued till the Restoration. The sermons delivered at these lectures were collected and published in six vols. 4to.

It is worthy of remark, that the sermon on the question, *Wherein lies that exact righteousness which is required between man and man?* Matt. vii. 12: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you," &c., was preached by Mr. Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who then ranked with the nonconformists! See Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i., p. 707, 4to.; and Nonconf. Memorial, vol. i., p. 125, &c.

In August, 1685, Dunton, having consulted the doctor relative to a voyage to New England, in order to clear off a dead stock of books, and to collect sundry debts due to him, receives the following answer:—

"*Tunbridge, August* 10, 1685.

"Dear son,

"I received yours, but cannot give so particular and direct an answer as you may expect. The infinitely wise God direct you! My opinion is, that you should not carry too great a cargo; for I think it will be the less trouble to you, to wish there that you had brought more, than to fret at the want of a market for too many. If you observe the course of the world, the most of all worldly trouble is through frustration of our expectation: where we look not for much, we easily bear a disappointment. Moderation in all things, but in love to God, and serious godliness, is highly commendable. Covet earnestly the best gifts, and the best graces, and the best

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enjoyments; for which you shall never, while I live, want the prayers of

"Your most affectionate father,

"S. ANNESLEY."

Dunton, on his arrival at Boston, wrote the doctor an account of his tedious and perilous voyage, to which he replied as follows:—

"*London, May* 10, 1686.

"Dear son,

"I was glad to hear of your safe arrival, after your tedious and hazardous passage. Those mercies are most observed, and, through grace, the best improved, that are bestowed with some grievous circumstances. I hope the impression of your voyage will abide, though the danger be over. I know not what to say to you about your trading. Present providences upon present circumstances must be observed; and therefore I shall often (in prayer) recommend your case to God, who alone can, and, I hope, will, do both in you, and for you, exceeding abundantly beyond what can be asked or thought by

"Your most affectionate father,

"S. ANNESLEY."

In speaking of Dr. Annesley's character, Dr. Calamy says, "He was an Israelite indeed; one that might be said to be sanctified from the womb, for he was early under serious impressions; so that he himself said, he knew not the time when he was unconverted."*

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* De Foe, in the Elegy already quoted, dwells particularly on early piety:—

"His pious course with childhood he begun,
And was his Maker's sooner than his own;

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He had a large soul, flaming zeal, and was remarkably successful in his ministry.

He had great courage, as may be seen in his first settlement at Cliff, in Kent. He never feared the utmost malice of any of his enemies; and nothing that he met with ever abated his cheerfulness. He had uninterrupted peace in his soul, and assurance of God's favour, for thirty years before his death; though for some time before that, he had passed through severe mental exercises. The last time he entered the pulpit, being dissuaded from preaching on account of his illness, he said, "I must work while it is day."

In his last illness he was full of comfort, and could say, "Blessed be God! I have been faithful in the work of the ministry for more than fifty-five years." Some of his last words were the following:—Just before his departure he often said, "Come, my dearest Jesus! the nearer the more precious, the more welcome." Another time his joy was so great, that in an ecstasy he

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As if designed by instinct to be great,
His judgment seemed to antedate his wit;
His soul outgrew the natural rate of years,
And full-grown wit at half-grown youth appears;
Early the vigorous combat he begun,
And was an elder Christian than a man.
The sacred study all his thoughts confined;
A sign what secret hand prepared his mind:
The heavenly book he made his only school,
In youth his study, and in age his rule.
Thus he in blooming years and hopes began,
Happy, beloved, and blessed of God and man;
Solid, yet vigorous too, both grave and young,
A taking aspect, and a charming tongue."

EDITOR.

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cried out, "I cannot contain it! What manner of love is this to a poor worm! I cannot express the thousandth part of what praise is due to thee! It is but little I can give thee; but, Lord, help me to give thee my all! I will die praising thee, and rejoice that others can praise thee better. I shall be satisfied with thy likeness. Satisfied! satisfied! O my dearest Jesus! I come!"

See the funeral sermon preached for him by Dr. Williams;* and his character as drawn by De Foe.†

During seventeen weeks' pain, though he had before enjoyed an uninterrupted course of health, he never discovered the least degree of impatience; and quietly resigned his soul to God, Dec. 31, 1696, aged 77 years.

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* Mr. John Wesley republished this excellent Sermon in the Arminian Mag., vol. xv., p. 248.—EDITOR.

† De Foe, as well as his parents, sat under Dr. Annesley's ministry; and Daniel, in all probability, owed, under God, the best part of his religious training to this exemplary and learned divine. In the Elegy, more than once referred to, he associates himself with the doctor's auditory:—

"The sacred bow he so divinely drew,
That every shot both hit and overthrew.
His native candour and familiar style,
Which did so oft his hearers' hours beguile,
Charmed us with godliness; and while he spake,
We loved the doctrine for the teacher's sake.
While he informed us what those doctrines meant,
By dint of practice more than argument,
Strange were the charms of his sincerity,
Which made his actions and his words agree,
At such a constant and exact a rate,
As made a harmony we wondered at."

And again:—

"Long he charmed us with his heavenly song.'

EDITOR.

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Dr. Annesley's figure was fine; his countenance dignified, highly expressive, and amiable. His constitution, naturally strong and robust, was capable of any kind of fatigue. He was seldom indisposed; and could endure the coldest weather without hat, gloves, or fire. For many years he scarcely ever drank any thing but water; and even to his last sickness his sight continued so strong that he could read the smallest print without spectacles. His piety, diligence, and zeal caused him to be highly esteemed, not only by the dissenters, but by all who knew him. The celebrated Richard Baxter, who was no eulogist, says, "Dr. Annesley is a most sincere, godly, humble man, totally devoted to God."

A curious anecdote is entered by his grandson, Mr. J. Wesley, in his Journal:—"Monday, Feb. 6, 1769, I spent an hour with a venerable woman, nearly ninety years of age, who retains her health, her senses, her understanding, and even her memory to a good degree. In the last century she belonged to my grandfather Annesley's congregation, at whose house her father and she used to dine every Thursday, and whom she remembers to have seen frequently, in his study at the top of the house, with his window open, and without any fire winter or summer. He lived seventy-seven years; and would probably have lived longer had he not begun water-drinking at seventy." This had been a former practice, for Anthony Wood particularly remarks, that from the time he entered Queen's college, at the age of fifteen, he usually drank nothing but water.

His remains were deposited by the side of his wife's, in Shoreditch church; and Dunton states, that the Countess of Anglesea desired, on her death-bed, to be buried, as she expressed it, "upon the coffin of that good man, Dr. Annesley."—*Life and Errors*, p. 280.

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His last will and testament is too singular to be omitted.

"In the name of God! Amen.

"I, Doctor Samuel Annesley, of the liberty of Norton Folgate, in the county of Middlesex, an unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, being, through mercy, in health of body and mind, do make this my last Will and Testament, concerning my earthly pittance.

"For my soul, I dare humbly say, it is through grace devoted unto God (otherwise than by legacy) when it may live here no longer. I do believe that my body, after its sleeping awhile in Jesus, shall be reunited to my soul, that they may both be for ever with the Lord.

"Of what I shall leave behind me, I make this short disposal,—

"My just debts being paid, I give to each of my children one shilling, and all the rest to be equally divided between my son Benjamin Annesley, my daughter Judith Annesley, and my daughter Ann Annesley, whom I make my Executors of this my last Will and Testament; revoking all former, and confirming this with my hand and seal this 29 of March, 1693.

"SAMUEL ANNESLEY."*

Among his works, which are neither numerous nor large, are,—

1. A Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, July 26, 1648: Job xxvii. 5, 6.

2. Communion with God; two Sermons at St. Paul's, 1654-55: Ps. lxxiii. 25, 26.

3. A Sermon at St. Lawrence Jewry, to the Gentlemen of Wilts., 1654: 1 Chron. xii. 38—40.

* See Arminian Mag., vol. ix., p. 672.

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4. A Funeral Sermon for the Rev. W. Whitaker, 1673: Zech. i. 5, 6.

5. Five Sermons in the Morning Exercises, 1674 to 1690.

6. Funeral Sermon for the Rev. T. Brand, and account of his Life, 1692: Josh. i. 2.

7. He edited 4 vols. of the Morning Exercises, and wrote a preface to each of them.*

8. He also wrote a preface to Mr. Richard Alleine's "Instructions about Heart-work;" and joined with Dr. Owen in a preface to Mr. Elisha Cole's "Practical Treatise on God's Sovereignty." See *Wood's Athenæ*, and *Biog. Brit.*

His grandson, Mr. John Wesley, has inserted a sermon in vol. xxxvi. of the Christian Library, on 1 Tim. v. 22, *How must we reprove, that we may not partake of other men's sins?*" which he attributes to Dr. Annesley: but this is a mistake, as it appears the sermon in question was delivered by Mr. Kitchen, of St. Mary Abchurch. And in vol. xxxviii. he attributes two others to him,—1. On *Universal Conscientiousness;* Acts xxiv. 16: "And herein do I exercise myself," &c. 2. On *How Ministers or Christian Friends may apply themselves to sick persons for their good*, &c.; Job xxxiii. 23, 24: "If there be a messenger with him," &c. But both these were written by Mr. Matthew Pool, author of the Synopsis Criticorum.† But those in vol. xliv.,—1. On

* It will be found, on examination, that Dr. Annesley only wrote *three* prefaces to the Morning Exercises, and not *four*, as stated above, and also by other writers. The preface to vol. iv. is by Nathaniel Vincent, 1675.—EDITOR.

† Mr. Wesley, in thus attributing these two sermons to his grandfather, has followed Wood's Athenæ, and Biog. Brit. By referring to Dr. Annesley's third sermon, in the third volume of the

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God's Sovereignty our Support in all worldly Distractions;" Ps. xcvii. 1, 2: "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice," &c. 2. *The Hinderances and Helps to a Good Memory in Spiritual Things;* 1 Cor. xv. 2: "By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory," &c., were written by Dr. Annesley. See *Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. i., p. 127.

Dr. Annesley was succeeded in Little St. Helen's, by Mr. Woodhouse.

As a writer, the doctor was lively and emphatic, and must have been a very useful preacher. The following extracts, taken at random from his sermon, *On a good Memory in Spiritual Things*," will prove this:—

"Violent passions spoil the memory; such as anger, grief, love, fear. Passions we must have; but constitution and education allay them in some, reason moderates them in others, and grace regulates them in all. Where these bridles are wanting, they shake all the faculties as an earthquake doth a country. For example: anger, when it rages, manifestly inflames the blood, and consequently the spirits, and melts off the impression in the brain, just as the fire melts the wax and the impressions that were fixed upon it.

"Morning Exercises," on Eccles. vi. 11, 12, we shall find a striking coincidence of thought and expression, which would lead to a preference of Mr. Wesley's opinion, unless a first or early impression of the sermons can be found with Pool's name prefixed to them as the author. "I began my Morning Exercises," says the doctor, "with this comprehensive case, *How to be in all things, at all times, exactly conscientious;* and the supplement with this, *How to attain and improve such love to God, as may influence all the graces, actions, and passages of our lives;* and now I would fain direct you, *How to prevent or cure the vanity that is incident to every condition.*" Here is the germ of the sermons in question.—EDITOR.

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"A multitude of undigested notions hurt the memory. If a man have a stock of methodical and digested knowledge, it is admirable how much the memory will contain; as you know how many images may be discerned at once in a glass. But when these notions are heaped incoherently in the memory, without order or dependance, they confound and overthrow the memory. Thus, many hear or read much, too much perhaps for their capacities; they have not stowage for it; and so they are ever learning, and never come to the knowledge of the truth. Therefore, look that you understand and digest things by meditation; run not on too fast. He that rides post can never draw maps of the country.

"Custom, or using your memories, is an excellent way of improving them. Thus many wise persons charge their memories at the present, and thereby strengthen them, and then commit what they have remembered to writing when they come home, that no time may wear it away. We say, Use legs, and have legs; and so, use the memory, and have a memory.

"If you oblige your children and your servants to bring you away an account of a sermon, you will see that use and custom will make it easy. I have seen an old man's girdle, who could not read a word, yet by the only help of the girdle which he wore, and which was hung about with some knotted points, he could bring home every particular of a sermon.

"Due estimation is a help to the memory; the more we love and admire any thing, the better we remember it. This is the reason given of children remembering things so well, because they admire every thing as being new to them. And of old people the saying is known, that they remember all such things as they care for: for when we esteem anything, the affections work upon the

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spirits, which are the instruments of the memory, and so seal things upon it. Why is it that a woman cannot forget her sucking child? Because she doth vehemently love it; and the like affection in us to good things would keep us from forgetting them."

To this I shall add the first paragraph of his sermon on God's Sovereignty, from Ps. xcvii. 1, 2, "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice," &c.

"The state of affairs is often so involved and confused, that we need not wonder if we see men of wisdom greatly perplexed in their spirits, and almost sunk into discouragement. The best of men, whose hearts are most fortified with grace, would be of all others most subject to discomposure, were it not that they feel peace and comfort flowing into them from the remembrance and sweet consideration of a God above. What good man could have any tolerable enjoyment of himself, or possess his soul in patience, while he observes the irregular motions of things below; the restlessness, tumblings, and tossings of the world; desirable comforts and delights blasted in a moment; afflictions and troubles breaking in with a sudden surprise; order quite subverted; laws violated, and the edge of them turned against those that are faithful and peaceable in the land; and all things indeed turned upside down, wickedness rampant, and religion oppressed? These things would soon break his heart, did he not see Him who is invisible, and firmly believe *a wheel within a wheel;* an unseen hand which steadily and prudently guides and directs all things, keeping up a beautiful order, where reason can discern nothing but confusion."

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SOME ACCOUNT OF DR. ANNESLEY'S CHILDREN.

Dr. Annesley had several children — no less than twenty-five! Dr. Manton baptizing one of them, and being asked how many children Dr. Annesley had? he answered, he "believed it was two dozen, or a quarter of a hundred." The reckoning children by dozens is a singular circumstance,—an honour to which few persons ever arrive. Of this numerous family I have met with the names only of Samuel, Benjamin, Judith, Sarah, Ann, Elizabeth, and Susanna.

SAMUEL ANNESLEY, JUN.

Samuel went abroad in the service of the East India Company. He there accumulated a considerable fortune, and made frequent remittances to his family at home. He had borne strong testimony against the mismanagement and peculations of certain persons in the Company's service, which probably created him mortal enemies. Intending to return home, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Wesley, to purchase for him an estate of £200 or £300 per annum, somewhere between London and Oxford. But it seems he suddenly disappeared, and no account was ever received either of his person or property! The very time of his coming home, and the ship by which he was to come, were announced; and his sister, Mrs. Susanna Wesley, came to London, expecting to meet him: but no brother appeared when the ship arrived! And all the information that was ever received was to this effect: that he had gone up into the country, and was never heard of more!* There is most

* When the noises were heard in the parsonage-house at Epworth, Mrs. Wesley supposed they betokened the death of her brother in India; but it is certain that he was alive several years after those noises ceased at Epworth.

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certainly a mystery in this transaction, which it is possible a future day may explain. Mr. John Wesley used to say to his nephews,—"You are heirs to a large property in India, if you can find it out; for my uncle is said to have been very prosperous."

Mr. Annesley's conduct in India has met with public censure, though probably unmerited. In "Cope's History of the East Indies" I find the following entry:—"1663, Sepr. Lord Mulbery arrived at Bombay, with Sir Abraham Shipman. The latter was the first English governor of that island. 2d, Humphrey Cook. 3d, Mr. Aungier, 1674. 4th, Sir John Child, bart., 1682. 5th, John Vaux, 1690. Mr. Vaux was detained at Surat as a hostage, that the Mogul's Firman should not be infringed, while Mr. Harris and Mr. Annesley held the actual government; and in consequence of their maladministration, Sir John Gayer was sent out in 1694, with the high title of Governor of all India. He continued in the government beyond the year 1700, and was succeeded by Sir Nicholas White."—*East India Chronologist.*

I possess an original letter of this gentleman to his brother-in-law, the rector of Epworth; which I shall here faithfully transcribe, in the hope that even this may be a means of casting some light on this dark affair. The letter refers to transactions which were then transpiring in India, and which those conversant with India affairs may easily comprehend. It seems to be written on purpose to vindicate himself from the above aspersions.

"Brother Wesley,

"Via Grand Caire, und cover of Mons^{r}. Pelavoine, the Directore here for the French Company (as in Feb. last), I wrote you; which I can't copy, but extract.

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"I have been told 'twas the practice of Sr. Nicholas White to bribe some of the Committee, thereby stifling all complaints against him. If you suspect that, declare to the Company themselves what I have wrote, being of such vast importance at their Convention in April to chuse new Directors. Let them keep my salary, and the wreck's money (some thousands of pounds), till I prove what I write is true, or a great part of it; if they will give me, as proposed, the power to do it. If you can get 2*s*. 9*d*. or 3*s*. the rupee, to be received in England, or interest of 5 per cent (as usual in bills drawn here on the Company) from the time I pay it, to payment to you and Mr. Eaton, I will give from 10 to 15,000 rupees to their order in Suratt; if they'l let me invest it for 'em in diamonds, I will faithfully serve 'em. Thus Sr. S. Evance and the Jew Alvaro de Costa did to Captn. Owen for his son's money.

"I desired you to let out to commanders, &c., responsible persons, bound hither, £500 on each ship, and (if you can) to be invested by me, advising overland how much; as in what goods. To procure what consignment you can to me, that I may have the laying out of most or part, if not all money brought hither; which I think I can do cheaper and better than any one on the place. I write not so out of vanity or opinativeness.

Sr. S. Evance has a large packet enclosing Mr. Pennyng's account by the fleet, which pray desire of Sr. Ceasar Child. If I am in the Company's service, pray desire Sr. Ceasar Child to let me *alone* have the adjustment of his accts. with the Parracks, provided they are not to this time finisht. Mr. Aislabie is most unaccountably slow, remiss, and negligent of such an advantage; so deserves to have it slip his hands, as I have wrote him I believe it will. Besides, he never did nor

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can do any thing to conclude it; it has and will lye upon me.

"If a good purchase offers between London and Oxford of 2 to £300 a year, I desire you to secure it for me against I come home, if God pleases. I would have it a healthy air, near a market-town and river; somewhat woody; no religious lands. I wil take care to send effects or bils to pay for it.

"Mr. Wyche's broker told me it was concerted between his master and Rustum not to take my Nunsasee and Broach goods, that disposing of them other ways, I might lose, and meddle no more to interrupt 'em in his roguerys. A faithful servant of the Company. He tels me he has received a commission to be cherif broker, gave 2600 rupees to the governor to let Mr. Wyche go to Bombay to show himself obedient to the Company's orders, but will speedily return with a general letter that 'tis necessary to do so. He says the Gen^{l} is for paying the old Company's debts, and Mr. Wyche has a mind to pay 'em here, both desiring to squeeze something from the creditors, and to ingratiate themselves with the Company to make them take single (not compound) interest. But that won't do; for then the Company must take single interest on their demands on the brokers, which will be a great loss. In the interim, who must pay the Company the interest of their money that lyes dead,—a vast sum when it shall be made up! They owe me about *thirty-five hundred pounds*, besides my salary and the wreck's money: but I cannot get a groat of it til brought about said dishonourable intentions; therefore, pray address the Court of Directors for their order to pay off my acc^{ts}. I have saved the old Company 36,200 rupees in Viltul Parrack's demands on 'em, on which 5 per cent. is due to me; but I can't get it paid: the reason

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is plain, that getting nothing for my trouble, I may leave off. I was nine months contending with him. Pray get an order for it. Said broker says the English credit in these parts daily declines; and his master by little and little wil venture (as the Dutch) to take a part of al goods he buys or sels for the Company, but in a private manner. As, suppose he sels copper at 14 rupees per m^{d}. he'l credit 'em perhaps 13½, and so in other merchandize. Already (as before hinted) they have no regard to the Company's fraights; provided the commanders will let 'em buy their goods, for which they have 5 per cent. commission, they may as usual (as among the Dutch) bring or carry what they please, fraight free.

"I could fil more than a quire of paper with these matters: but 'twil be in vain, if what I have wrote be not considered. I hinted to you, Mr. Samuel Sheppard was displeased with Mr. Proby for writing him of the great cheat in sale of the English broadcloth; concerning which Mr. Proby may be subpœna'd in, and the Company's Registry may be examin'd. Some matters may be erroneously inform'd, but I am satisfied as to the main 'tis true. I have heard Capt^{n} Beawes gave 500 to command the Albermarle; and scarce any thing is done without money, and every thing almost with it.

"About Abdul Guffere's dispute with the Company (who seized their goods by a former governor, for those the pirates plundered from him, and restored 'em to the Gen^{l}) is, according to the best acc^{t} (as yet I have got) as follows. Ibe sent to Sellimongee (a Moor, one of the greatest merchants in Town) to mediate with Mr. Wyche's broker, between the Gen^{l} (who had seized his ships for payment) and him. He at first offered to pay 450,000 rupees, and Sellimongee sent Mr. Wyche word

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he'd bring it to rupees 500,000: but he would not hearken to him, nor Rustum tell him or the Gen[l] of it (as he sent me word); he'l at any time tel him to his face. But they applyed themselves to the Governor, gave him of it, as they pretend, 120,000 rupees, the fourth of 480,000, Rustum says, Abdul Guffere gave, (tho' he affirms he gave 482,000) and 63,950 to the officers, which in the end I presume will be proved he, &c., shared among 'em; so that for the 500,000 rupees, the Company might have had instantly paid down, they have by that villain, and &c.'s means, rec[d] but 296,950, with large charges besides. I have often wrote the Gen[l] for the acc[t], that there is a great cheat in't, but can get no answer. Pray does he not give sufficient grounds to suspect he has had a part of it? I have a hundred times, to no purpose, desired the same of Mr. Wyche.

"SAM. ANNESLEY."

Suratt, March 13, 1712-3.

Endorsed. "Sam[l] Annesley, to the Rev[d]. Sam[l] Wesley, Mar. 13, 1712-3."

In the hands of a good investigator, this letter might lead to some discovery relative to the end of Mr. Annesley, and *where* his property has been left, and *who* has possessed it. That there were nefarious transactions in the management of the Company's concerns at that time, the above letter sufficiently states; and that Mr. Annesley's honesty might have led to his ruin, is a possible case. That he should disappear and never more be heard of, and that his property should all have been lost, are mysteries which probably at this distance of time cannot entirely be cleared up: but some discovery may yet be made.

In Dunton's Conversations in Ireland, extracts from

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which are published by Mr. Nichols, with the Life and Errors, p. 570, I meet with the following observation: "I told the lieutenant of my brother Annesley's death; at which he was highly concerned." Whether this may refer to Samuel or not, I am unable now to determine.

From the preceding letter, we find that Mr. Annesley wished to employ his brother-in-law, the rector of Epworth, to transact some business in his behalf with the East India Company; and Mr. Wesley appears to have undertaken the office: but owing to his natural easiness, and too great confidence in the promises of men, the business was neglected, and had no favourable issue; at which Mr. Annesley was greatly offended, transferred the agency into another hand, and wrote a severe letter to his sister, Mrs. Wesley, in which he most liberally blamed the conduct of his brother-in-law. A part only of Mrs. Wesley's answer to her angry brother has fallen into my hands; but I am happy to find that a complete copy has been found among Mr. Wesley's papers, at present in the hands of the Rev. H. Moore:* from this I shall supply the deficiency in that which I had before published. This letter is worthy of insertion, as it shows her good sense, great modesty, and faithful attachment to her husband.

To Mr. Annesley.

"Sir,

"The unhappy differences between you and Mr. Wesley have prevented my writing for some years, not knowing whether a letter from me would be acceptable, and being unwilling to be troublesome. But feeling life ebb apace, and having a desire to be at peace with all men, especially you, before my exit, I have ventured to

* Life of Wesley, vol. i., p. 564.

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send one letter more, hoping you will give yourself the trouble to read it without prejudice.

"I am, I believe, got on the right side of fifty, infirm and weak; yet old as I am, since I have taken my husband "for better, for worse," I'll take my residence with him. "Where he lives, will I live; and where he dies, will I die; and there will I be buried. God do so unto me, and more also, if aught but death part him and me." Confinement is nothing to one that, by sickness, is compelled to spend great part of her time in a chamber; and I sometimes think, that if it were not on account of Mr. Wesley and the children, it would be perfectly indifferent to my soul, whether she ascended to the supreme Origin of being from a jail or a palace, for God is every where.

> 'No walls, nor locks, nor bars, nor deepest shade,
> Nor closest solitude excludes his presence;
> And in what place soever he vouchsafes
> To manifest his presence, there is heaven.'

And that man whose heart is penetrated with divine love, and enjoys the manifestations of God's blissful presence, is happy, let his outward condition be what it will. He is rich, as having nothing, yet possessing all things. This world, this present state of things, is but for a time. What is now future will be present, as what is already past once was; and then, as Mr. Pascal observes, a little earth thrown on our cold head will for ever determine our hopes and our condition; nor will it signify much who personated the prince or the beggar, since, with respect to the exterior, all must stand on the same level after death.

"Upon the best observation I could ever make, I am induced to believe, that it is much easier to be contented

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without riches than with them. It is so natural for a rich man to make his gold his god (for whatever a person loves most, that thing, be it what it will, he will certainly make his god); it is so very difficult not to trust in, not to depend on it, for support and happiness, that I do not know one rich man in the world with whom I would exchange conditions.

"You say, 'I hope you have recovered your loss by fire long since.' No; and, it is to be doubted, never shall. Mr. Wesley rebuilt his house in less than one year; but nearly thirteen years are elapsed since it was burned, yet it is not half furnished, nor his wife and children half clothed to this day. It is true, that by the benefactions of his friends, together with what he had himself, he paid the first; but the latter is not paid yet, or, what is much the same, money which was borrowed for clothes and furniture is yet unpaid. You go on: 'My brother's living of three hundred a year, as they tell me.' *They:* who? I wish those who say so were compelled to make it so. It may as truly be said that his living is ten thousand a year as three hundred. I have, Sir, formerly laid before you the true state of our affairs. I have told you, that the living was always let for a hundred and sixty pounds a-year. That taxes, poor assessments, sub-rents, tenths, procurations, synodals, &c., took up nearly thirty pounds of that moiety; so that there needs no great skill in arithmetic to compute what remains.

"What we shall or shall not need hereafter, God only knows; but at present there hardly ever was a greater coincidence of unprosperous events in one family than is now in ours. I am rarely in health. Mr. Wesley declines apace. My dear Emily, who in my present exigencies would exceedingly comfort me, is compelled

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to go to service in Lincoln, where she is a teacher in a boarding-school. My second daughter, Sukey, a pretty woman, and worthy a better fate, when, by your last unkind letters, she perceived that all her hopes in you were frustrated, rashly threw away herself upon a man (if a *man* he may be called, who is little inferior to the apostate angels in wickedness) that is not only her plague, but a constant affliction to the family. O sir! O brother! Happy, thrice happy are you, happy is my sister, that buried your children in infancy! secure from temptation, secure from guilt, secure from want or shame, or loss of friends! They are safe beyond the reach of pain or sense of misery: being gone hence, nothing can touch them further. Believe me, sir, it is better to mourn ten children dead than one living; and I have buried many. But here I must pause awhile.

"The other children, though wanting neither industry nor capacity for business, we cannot put to any, by reason we have neither money nor friends to assist us in doing it. Nor is there a gentleman's family near us in which we can place them, unless as common servants; and that even yourself would not think them fit for, if you saw them; so that they must stay at home, while they have a home; and how long will that be? Innumerable are other uneasinesses, too tedious to mention; insomuch that, what with my own indisposition, my master's infirmities, the absence of my eldest, the ruin of my second daughter, and the inconceivable distress of all the rest, I have enough to turn a stronger head than mine. And were it not that God supports, and by his omnipotent goodness often totally suspends all sense of worldly things, I could not sustain the weight many days, perhaps hours. But even in this low ebb of fortune, I am not without some kind interval. Unspeak-

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able are the blessings of privacy and leisure; when the mind emerges from the corrupt animality to which she is united, and by a flight peculiar to her nature, soars beyond the bounds of time and place, in contemplation of the Invisible Supreme, whom she perceives to be her only happiness, her proper centre; in whom she finds repose inexplicable, such as the world can neither give nor take away.

"The late archbishop of York once said to me (when my master was in Lincoln castle) among other things, 'Tell me,' said he, 'Mrs. Wesley, whether you ever really wanted bread?' My lord, said I, I will freely own to your grace that, strictly speaking, I never did want bread. But then, I had so much care to get it before it was eat, and to pay for it after, as has often made it very unpleasant to me. And I think to have bread on such terms is the next degree of wretchedness to having none at all. 'You are certainly in the right,' replied my lord, and seemed for a while very thoughtful. Next morning he made me a handsome present; nor did he ever repent having done so. On the contrary, I have reason to believe it afforded him comfortable reflections before his exit."

Mrs. Wesley, having stated to her brother, that in all his transactions her husband had acted with a clear conscience, both before God and man, she proceeds to notice the blame cast on him by Mr. Annesley, and adds:—

"These things are unkind, very unkind. Add not misery to affliction: if you will not reach out a friendly hand to support, yet, I beseech you, forbear to throw water on a people already sinking.

"But I shall go on with your letter to me. You proceed: 'When I come home'—Oh, would to God that might ever be!—'should any of your daughters want

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me'—as I think they will not—'I shall do as God enables me!'—I must answer this with a sigh from the bottom of my heart. Sir, you know the proverb, 'While the grass grows, the steed starves.'

"That passage relating to Ansley I have formerly replied to; therefore I'll pass it over, together with some hints I am not willing to understand. You go on:—

"'My brother has one invincible obstacle to my business, his distance from London.'—Sir, you may please to remember, I put you in mind of this long since.—'Another hinderance, I think he is too zealous for the party he fancies in the right; and has unluckily to do with the opposite faction.'—Whether those you employ are factious or not, I'll not determine; but very sure I am, Mr. Wesley is not so; he is zealous in a good cause, as every one ought to be, but the farthest from being a party man of any man in the world.—'Another remora is, these matters are out of his way.'—That is a remora indeed, and ought to have been considered on both sides before he entered on your business; for I am verily persuaded that that, and that alone, has been the cause of any mistakes or inadvertency he has been guilty of, and the true reason why God has not blessed him with desired success.—'He is apt to rest upon deceitful promises.'—Would to heaven that neither he, nor I, nor any of our children, had ever trusted to deceitful promises. But it is a right hand error, and I hope God will forgive us all.—'He wants Mr. Eaton's thrift'—This I can readily believe.—'He is not fit for worldly business.'—This I likewise assent to, and must own I was mistaken when I did think him fit for it: my own experience hath since convinced me that he is one of those who, our Saviour saith, 'are not so wise in their generation as the children of this world.' And did I

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not know that Almighty Wisdom hath views and ends, in fixing the bounds of our habitation, which are out of our ken, I should think it a thousand pities that a man of his brightness, and rare endowments of learning and useful knowledge, in relation to the church of God, should be confined to an obscure corner of the country, where his talents are buried, and he determined to a way of life for which he is not so well qualified as I could wish; and it is with pleasure that I behold in my eldest son an aversion from accepting a small country cure; since, blessed be God! he has a fair reputation for learning and piety, preaches well, and is capable of doing more good where he is. You conclude:—'My wife will make my cousin Emily.'—It was a small and insignificant present to my sister indeed; but, poor girl, it was her whole estate; and if it had been received as kindly as it was meant, she would have been highly pleased.

"I shall not detain you any longer, not so much as to apologize for the tedious length of this letter.

"I should be glad if my service could be made acceptable to my sister; to whom, with yourself, the children tender their humblest duty. We all join in wishing you a happy new year, and very many of them.

"I am

"Your obliged and most obedient

"servant and sister,

"SUSANNAH WESLEY."

Epworth, Jan. 20th, 1721-2.

My birth-day.

From the above letter we find that Mr. Samuel Annesley was alive at Surat in 1722, seven years after the noises had ceased at the parsonage-house at Epworth;

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which Mrs. Wesley had supposed portended his death. In the year 1724, it was reported that Mr. Annesley was coming home in one of the Company's ships. Mrs. Wesley, hearing the news, came up from Epworth to London, to meet him: but the report was incorrect. This is the last mention I find of Mr. Samuel Annesley in any of the family papers which have come under my notice. Nor is there any certainty when he died. We know he was alive in 1712, and possibly in 1720 or 1721. Mrs. Wesley's letter to him is dated Jan. 20, 1722; his, to which it is an answer, was most probably written in 1720. It is said that his wife survived him, and that "she left £1000 to Mrs. Wesley, the interest to be paid her during her life, and at her decease the principal sum to be divided among the children." Howsoever left, there is no evidence that this money ever came into the family. They had large expectations, built on Mr. Annesley's promises, which were never realized; and hence that saying of Mr. J. Wesley to his nephews, already mentioned: "You are heirs to a large property in India, if you can find it out; for my uncle is said to have been very prosperous."

Of BENJAMIN ANNESLEY I have not been able to collect any particulars. He was appointed an executor of his father's will, and came into possession of one-third of his property.

Dunton, speaking of him, says, "That grateful and most ingenuous youth, Ben Annesley;" a form of expression highly complimentary to character, both moral and intellectual.

Of Miss SARAH ANNESLEY I find nothing on record except her name, mentioned in one of her sister Eliza-

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beth's letters to Mr. Dunton, inserted in his Life and Errors, p. 68.

Of Miss JUDITH ANNESLEY, Mr. Dunton, her brother-in-law, gives the following character: "She is a virgin of eminent piety. Good books (above all, the book of books) are her sweetest entertainment; and she finds more comfort there than others do in their wardrobe. In a word, she keeps a constant watch over the frame of her soul and the course of her actions by daily and strict examination of both."

There is a painting of her in the family of Mr. Charles Wesley, probably by Sir Peter Lely, where she is represented as a very beautiful woman. A gentleman of splendid fortune paid his addresses to her, and the attachment was mutual; but when she perceived that he was addicted to much wine, she utterly refused to marry him, and died single.

Of Miss ANN ANNESLEY, Mr. Dunton, her brother-in-law, gives the following character: "To drop her pious character would be ungrateful. She is a wit for certain; and however Time may have dealt by her, Art never feigned, nor Nature formed, a finer woman."

This lady was afterwards married to Mr. James Fromantle, and had a son, named Annesley Fromantle, who was educated for the ministry at the College of Glasgow. —*Wilson's History*, vol. i., p. 370. I conclude this is correct, from the following observation of Dunton's, in his Characters of Eminent Persons: "Madam Fromantle (my sister before her advancement) is the only person I ever knew whom an estate made more humble and condescending. Her life is one continued act of tenderness, wit, and piety."—p. 358.

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We have already seen that Miss ELIZABETH ANNESLEY was married to Mr. John Dunton, the eccentric bookseller, Aug. 3, 1682. She appears to have been very eminent, both for piety and good sense. Dunton has shown his attachment to her by the account he published of her death, and some extracts which he gives from her papers found after her death.

That Elizabeth Dunton was the daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, was not less her honour than her happiness; and of this care of Providence, she discovers, in her private papers, a very grateful sense.

Religion had made early impressions on her mind. The new life had sprung up by such insensible degrees, that, like her noble and reverend father, she knew not the time of her being turned to the wisdom of the just.

Her bible was the great companion and pleasure of her life; and she was so well acquainted with it, that no portion of it could be mentioned which she could not refer to the book, chapter, and verse, in which it might be found.

Dunton describes her as being tall, of a good aspect, with dark eyes, and of a fair complexion. She had that solid but ready wit, that rendered her conversation very desirable. It is said she never gave any one an ill word when absent, nor when present commended them. In short, she was an agreeable acquaintance, a trusty friend, and mistress of all those graces that could be desired to make a woman complete. When Mr. Dunton commenced business, he says, "She gave me an early specimen of her prudence and diligence that way, and thereupon commenced bookseller, cash-keeper, managed all my affairs, and left me entirely to my own rambling and scribbling humours." Her piety and conjugal affection are strongly evinced in the following extract from

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one of her letters to her husband, dated, London, May 14, 1686: "I was very much overjoyed for your safe arrival at Boston, though much troubled for your illness in the way to it. Those mercies are the sweetest that we enjoy after waiting and praying for them. I pray God help us both to improve them to his glory. If there is any encouragement for settling in New England, I will joyfully come over to you. Pray God to direct you what to do; and in the mean time, take care of your health, and want for nothing. I had rather have your company with bread and water, than enjoy, without you, the riches of both Indies; but I must conclude, begging of God to keep you from the sins and temptations which every place and every condition expose us to. So, wishing you a speedy and safe voyage back again to England, I remain yours, beyond expression." At another time she writes to him, "Be cheerful; want for nothing: doubt not but God will provide for us. Now is the time for us to live a life of faith, to depend wholly upon him; for he never yet disappointed any that put their trust in him."—*Life and Errors*, pp. 68, 79, 93, and 144.

She had an amiable disposition, and a heart full of charity to all who differed from her in their religious opinions. She was a considerable proficient even in polemical divinity, and had acquainted herself well with the controversy on Original Sin, and the effects of it on the faculties of the soul, on Free-will, Foreknowledge, Grace, the Revealed and Secret Will of God, &c. Upon this last subject she writes, "I will obey God's revealed will, and adore his secret will; rest upon his promises, and cast myself at the feet of Christ, attentive to my present duty. The belief of God's foreknowledge, or his decreeing whatsoever comes to pass, should not

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hinder me from duty, but render me diligent in it. I ought to do more for my soul than my body; and respecting the latter, though I know not what food may nourish it, or what medicines relieve, I will not neglect the means."

She owned that repentance is the gift of God, and that sin cannot be pardoned but through the blood, the merits, and intercession of Christ Jesus; and that no spiritual act can be performed without divine assistance.

In a diary kept by her for twenty years, the gracious state of her mind was particularly pointed out: but so far was she from vain glory, that in her last illness she entreated her husband to burn those large collections; and it was with difficulty he obtained her permission for Mr. Rogers, who preached her funeral sermon, to extract those passages which he has inserted in the discourse, entitled, "The Character of a Good Woman, preached on the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Dunton." Her reflections on a bed of sickness her husband published in the Post Angel, for Feb. 1701, and in Turner's Folio, p. 37, the latter of which I have not seen.

She was a great lover of solitude, because it gave her the opportunity of conversing with God and her own heart. But this did not infringe on the public means of grace, or public duties. Public worship, sermons, sabbaths, and sacraments were her refreshments on her way to glory. On one of these occasions she wrote, "O how should the thought of free unmerited grace fill us with love to God! I am filled with joy inexpressible, and with hope full of glory! What amazing love, that God should give his Son to die for sinners! That he should become man, and not have where to lay his head, when he came to enrich the world! Blessed God! at this sacrament I cannot take a denial of thy presence: I

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come to meet my God; I cannot be comforted without him."

Her husband observes, "Her conjugal affection was as remarkable as the rest of her character. Her happiness seemed wrapped up in mine; our interests and our inclinations were the same. When affairs were perplexing, she never discovered uneasiness; she made use of means, and left the issue to Providence. When I happened to be ill, she was much concerned; and would impair her own health rather than permit any one else to wait on me. I never went home, and found her out of temper. But heaven had a greater interest in her than I could have: she was my better half; but I knew my property in her was not absolute.

"In her last illness, which continued seven months, she never uttered one repining word; and was always willing to depart and to be with God." About a month previous to her death, her husband being from home, she wrote to him as follows: "Though God has exercised me with a long and languishing sickness, and my grave lies in view, yet he hath dealt tenderly with me, so that I find by experience no compassions are like those of a God. It is true, I have scarce strength to answer your letter; but seeing you desire a few lines, I will attempt something. As you desire to lie with me in the same grave, so I hope we shall be happy together hereafter, in the enjoyment of the beatific vision, and in the knowledge of one another; for I agree with you, that we shall know our friends in heaven. Wise and learned men of all ages, and several Scriptures, plainly show it; though I verily believe, was there none but God and one saint in heaven, that saint would be perfectly happy, so as to desire no more. But, whilst on earth, we may lawfully please ourselves with hopes of

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meeting hereafter. I shall only add my hearty prayer, that God would bless you, both in soul and body; and that when you die, you may be conveyed by angels into Abraham's bosom; where I hope you will find your tender and dutiful," &c. &c. "Through the whole of her sickness," continues her husband, "she declared she had no doubt upon her mind as to her eternal happiness. When near death she said to one who stood by, 'Heaven will make amends for all. In a short time I shall be happy. I have good ground to hope that when I die, I shall, through Christ, be blessed, for I dedicated my *youth* to God.'

"When I saw her departing, and was overwhelmed with sorrow, she said, with sweetness, 'Do not be so concerned at parting, for I trust we shall meet where we shall part no more. Yet it is a solemn thing to die, whatever men may think of it. O this eternity! There is no time for preparing for heaven like the time of youth. Though death be near, I can look back with joy on some of the early years I sweetly spent in my father's house; and think how comfortably I lived there. What a mercy to be dedicated to God betimes.'

"When her soul was just fluttering on her lips, she exclaimed, 'Lord, pardon my sins, and perfect me in holiness! Accept of praises for the mercies I have received, and fit me for whatsoever thou wilt do with me, for Christ's sake!'

"A little after this she fell asleep in Jesus, on the 28th of May, 1697;" and her remains were interred in Bunhill-fields, agreeably to her request.

In all the Annesley family, of which we have any particulars, we see the truth of that word, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he

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will not depart from it." A pious education is next, in efficiency, to the all-powerful grace of Christ.

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